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Conference on European Security Held in Prague

Havel Advocates Treaty System

LD2504103991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Excerpt] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel opened in Cernin Palace in Prague this morning a two-day conference on the future of European security. He emphasized that security issues in Europe are not a regional matter but a matter concerning the entire world. He pointed out that Czechoslovakia pins high hopes on the Helsinki process in this respect. According to Vaclav Havel, a system of collective treaties should be formed, which would bind together NATO-member countries, nonaligned, and the so-called postcommunist countries. In this connection, the president praised the role of NATO as a well-tried democratic institution, on the one hand, and as a link with the United States and Canada, on the other. He also spoke in favor of new bilateral agreements between European countries that should become a basis for a future security network.

When opening the Prague conference on the future of European security today, Vaclav Havel also highlighted the role of the Soviet Union without whose participation the future of security in Europe is inconceivable. [passage omitted]

NATO's Woerner Addresses Conference

LD2504121791 Prague CTK in English 0714 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner said at the conference on "The Future of European Security" here today that though "the security premises of Europe have dramatically changed", "the existing potentials are still too high, and the danger of reversals has not yet been exorcised".

Woerner hailed the conference as "an impressive testimony to the new Europe in which there are no more adversaries, no more blocs, no more antagonisms, but where democratic countries, nourished by the same cultural and historical sources, recreate their partnerships and shape their common future".

"I need not recall the achievements of the past year, the advent of freedom and democracy in this part of Europe, the strategic retreat of the Soviet Union and the determined Soviet effort to contribute its vital share to a more cooperative and peaceful continent," Woerner said.

But "we have not yet removed the uncertainties and risks of this difficult period of transition. The enormity of the challenge and the gravity of the political and economic situation in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe stand in stark contrast with our initial joy and relief," Woerner said.

Speaking about the need of "more tangible" support for systemic changes in the countries of central and eastern Europe, Woerner said that "our duty is now to consolidate the progress of reforms so far undertaken, to avert new perils, to master the process of change, to overcome obstacles, and in the domain of security...further to limit the offensive capability of the remaining armed forces in europe, and to prevent any nation from maintaining disproportionate military power on the continent".

"We are about to overcome the tragic division of the continent along ideological and military lines. We no longer fear the overwhelming onslaught of huge military potentials," Woerner said.

He went on to say that "there is good reason to be confident that the spectre of overwhelming great power war has been exorcised in Europe, for our time. But it would be rash to conclude that the risks have receded entirely".

Speaking about the Soviet Union, Woerner said it has been and will continue to be the biggest power of Europe "because of its geostrategic location, its sheer size, its military might and its world power aspirations. Today we look to a more constructive and cooperative Soviet Union, which must shoulder new responsibilities, notwithstanding significant internal difficulties, for Europe's peace and well-being. The challenge for us as Europeans is to draw the Soviet Union into our common endeavour, to dispel any temptations to isolate it. We at NATO maintain the transatlantic link, fettering the North American democracies as closely as we can to Europe's destiny. From the viewpoint of security policy, our reference system reaches from the shores of the Pacific to Vladivostok."

Woerner mentioned the three major sessions which will be held within the conference on "The Future of European Security", each focusing on a vital aspect of the overall topic. "Let me suggest three lines of inquiry which, to some extent, cut across the plan for the three sessions," Woerner said.

"The first inquiry should attempt to define a new, modern and comprehensive concept of security. A second major inquiry should explore the institutions which Europe will need to consecrate its new, undivided status...my third inquiry finally—and understandably—concerns NATO's role," Woerner said.

As regards security, Woerner said "We must seek to understand the conditions that need to be fulfilled to make security last: the societal, economic and mental underpinnings of security...support for the reform policies of the countries in eastern and central Europe, including the Soviet Union, will be our best long-term security policy."

Saying that it will now be necessary "to explore how military roles have changed," Woerner said that "vigilance and military effectiveness will need to be preserved to offset existing military capabilities".

"We must make sure that our future strategies are truly defence- dominant and are more clearly and more visibly adapted to the real spectrum of crises and risks of the

future. In this respect I am happy to see Soviet participation at a high level in this conference. Soviet developments in the domain of security and strategy will remain of overriding importance for all of us," Woerner said.

"As regards the future institutions of Europe I believe we have made some progress," Woerner said and added that "NATO's ministers have recently spoken of the need for a framework of interlocking institutions which, in their future operations, will be meshed through complementarity and mutual support".

"That important conceptual insight dismisses the idea of a sole plan-European institution in which all others—including the North Atlantic Alliance—should graciously fuse," Woerner said. The interlocking institutions concept "is a more realistic approach as it allows a much smoother integration of the central and east European countries, including the Soviet Union, into a structural framework in which the security interest of all European states can be fully accommodated," Woerner said.

"We at NATO are intensively interested in providing an adequate response to the security needs of the new democracies. They must be part and parcel of a common security and they must be convinced that such is to be their role," Woerner said.

Speaking about the role of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Woerner said the CSCE process "should be upgraded and better equipped to deal with future scenarios of concern, both in a mode of crisis prevention and crisis management".

Speaking about NATO's future role, Woerner said that "NATO has undergone, and is still involved in, a fundamental transformation, adjusting to the changing security premises of a new Europe".

This embraces "three areas: We are revising our strategy, reducing our active forces and changing our force structures to adapt to the new military situation. We are developing a cooperative relationship with our former adversaries to create the conditions for a new and lasting all-European order of security. We are reinforcing the European pillar inside our alliance to adjust to the creation of a European political union," Woerner said.

Saying that "NATO's core function has always been defence", he added that "the tendenices (now) are clear. Risk replaces threat, vigilance replaces combat readiness. Prudent provision for future security replaces instant defence."

Stressing "the overriding task of safeguarding the transatlantic relationship", Woerner said that "the firm commitment of the North American democracies to the destiny of Europe has preserved the peace and will continue to be our guarantee for a stable world".

Referring to the central Europe, Woerer said "nobody at NATO takes the issue of the security status of the new central European democracies lightly. We are in no way indifferent to their security. We see their needs, we want to cater to them. We can undertake this endeavour, confident that none of us is threatened immediately, none of us is in a precarious military situation."

"NATO member states, it is true, enjoy a formal security guarantee, of which non-members do not partake," Woerner said. He added that central and east European states "neither want to be neutral nor components of a buffer zone, and nor do we. We want them to be constructive partners.... At the moment, what NATO can offer is a multiple and intensive web of relations which does not exclude the Soviet Union, but wants it to be a constructive and creative partner as well".

"A lot will depend on the future of the Soviet Union and its foreign policy, i.e. its behaviour in its relations with its neighbours. Our alliance will show flexibility, including in our institutional manifestations during this evolution," Woerner said.

CSFR's Miller Addresses Conference

AU2504143991 Prague CTK in English 1204 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Labor and Social Affairs Minister Petr Miller urged his counterparts and labor experts from 32 countries today to help suppress migration by economic cooperation with countries of its origin.

"Our common effort should be such economic policies which would create conditions for the effective use of the labor potentials at home. In this we see the chief purpose of Western assistance to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe," Miller said at the international conference of labor ministers and officials from 32 countries and eight international organizations.

"Migration, especially uncontrolled, requires considerable resources from all of us. This is why we consider it highly desirable to suppress it by all positive forms of economic cooperation in the countries of its origin, even with certain financial contributions from state or company resources," Miller said.

He noted that "problems arising from the economic reforms in Central and East European countries cannot be closed within state borders" and urged developed Western states to provide assistance for technological modernization and thus help keep migration to acceptable levels.

Miller noted that Czechoslovakia already has agreements on work under contracts with Germany, Poland, and Yugoslavia. He said that vacancies in Western Europe could be offered under special contracts on a short-term or seasonal basis or training. Employment could also be offered in border regions, with special provisions permitting the maximum stay without return. Such arrangements already exist in some countries, he said.

Miller spoke about unemployment which is growing as a result of structural changes, conversion of arms manufacturing plants, reduction of superfluous managerial

personnel, and privatization and stressed the interdependence of unemployment and migration.

Three intergovernmental agreements between the FRG and Czechoslovakia were concluded here today within the framework of the international conference of labor ministers from 32 countries, currently being held here.

The first agreement provides for the employment of Czechoslovak workers with the aim of improving their professional and language knowledge. Up to 1,000 Czechoslovak citizens a year will be employed in Germany for a period of 12 to 18 months under the same conditions as the Germans.

The second agreement concerns cooperation between the two countries' labor ministries in the area of labor, employment, and social policies.

The third agreement provides for sending some 8,250 Czechoslovak workers from the construction industry to Germany on a contract basis.

CSFR Deputy Minister on Pact, NATO

LD2504165191 Prague CTK in English 1522 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)—The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee is scheduled to meet here at the beginning of June and "Czechoslovakia is not hiding its hopes that this meeting could also be the last", said Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka today.

In a speech entitled "Potentials and Limitations of the Existing Security Mechanism in a Pan-European Framework", Matejka warned that "as a result of the last two years Eastern Europe is now in a certain strategic isolation". He was addressing a two-day conference here on "The Future of European Security".

Matejka said the present standing of Central and Eastern Europe is influenced by the following facts: 1) the Warsaw Pact will be dissolved, 2) NATO has serious limitations as far as non-member states are concerned and 3) the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is not sufficiently developed from a security standpoint.

Czechoslovakia is placing high hopes in the formation of pan- European security structures within the CSCE or Helsinki process, Matejka said, and would welcome negotiations on the creation of a permanent CSCE political body at the next CSCE summit in 1992.

Matejka said it would be desirable for the summit to accept binding documents that would pave the way for the establishment of a regional or international organisation similar to the United Nations charter. Matejka then went one step further with a proposal for a pan-European system for monitoring adherence to arms control agreements, measures for the supervision of conventional arms sales and the gradual formation of multinational European forces.

Delegates on European Security

LD2504180791 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)—Paul Wolfowitz, U.S. under secretary of defence for policy told the conference on "The Future of European Security" today that Europe's security requires that the Berlin Wall not be replaced by a new line dividing the poor from the rich.

Wolfowitz stressed the U.S commitment to democracy, independence and progress in Central and Eastern Europe. It is evident, however, that a new European security order will not emerge overnight, he said. While NATO is necessary for European security, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is a complementary organisation which shares with NATO the role of strengthening and improving stability. In the same way, NATO could complement the CSCE. NATO serves European security by being the most reliable counterbalance to the possibility of renewed Soviet aggressivity and by firmly anchoring a united Germany, Wolfowitz said.

He noted that if the present trend continues, the U.S. will cut its troop strength by one-quarter by 1995. The number of troops on active duty will be reduced by more than half a million, which is slightly higher than the number of troops sent by the U.S. to the Persian Gulf to liberate Kuwait.

In 1995 U.S. military spendings will be the lowest in relation to the gross national product since the Second World War, Wolfowitz said and he urged the Soviet Union to follow suit.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy said the present instability in Eastern and Central Europe is just as dangerous as the West's passive inaction.

Whilst the Paris Charter for a new Europe declared the period of confrontation over, it is clear that a new European security order is far away, he said. It is a monumental task for decades.

Kvitsinskiy noted that the contrasts of contemporary European development, with the East occupied with destruction and the West with construction, can hardly serve as a good basis for a future balance. He said the German proposal to set up some kind of security council for Europe deserves careful thought and support.

As far as relations between the Soviet Union and its former allies are concerned, Kvitsinskiy said, Moscow considers it most productive to establish bilateral mutually advantageous agreements with them.

Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase proposed a union of Central and East European countries, which he described as an open organisation that should act as a catalyst of change in the Warsaw Pact . It should oversee development in the region and set up contacts with Western Europe.

Labor Ministers on Migration

AU2504180991 Prague CTK in English 1201 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—Michel Hansenne, director-general of the International Labour Office (ILO), told labour ministers and other officials from four continents today that they should consider signing intergovernmental agreements under which wealthier countries would employ workers from Central and Eastern Europe for limited periods of time.

The ILO will do everything to encourage this, Hansenne said on the first day of a two-day meeting attended by representatives from 32 countries in Europe, Asia, Australia and North America and eight international organizations.

The focus of the meeting is on economic reforms in Central and Eastern Europe and their effects on the labor market and migration.

"Since migration and unemployment are problems common to all the Central and East European countries, a remedy should be sought through their concerted action", Czechoslovak Labor and Social Affairs Minister Petr Miller told CTK yesterday. Miller proposed the current meeting at the international labor conference in Geneva in June 1990.

Hansenne said at the opening session today that increasing social tensions could jeopardize the process of democratization in Central and Eastern Europe and the West European states cannot sit by idly and watch. The risk of instability makes it imperative to increase Western help to these countries and offer cooperation, he said.

Nastase Addresses Meeting

AU2504203891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2024 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—A union of Central and Eastern Europe would fill, even temporarily, the "void of representation" of the common security interests of the countries in that region, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase stated at the Prague conference devoted to the future of European security.

This new structure is to prove its utility, the Romanian foreign minister added, in promoting confidence, the measures to strengthen security through consultations, exchanges of information, actions conducive to growing transparency of the member-countries' military activities, meant to avoid a distorted understanding of the acts in that domain, as well as through coordinated efforts meant to prevent and remove the negative consequences of non-military threats to security, as well as of ecological threats or of threats deriving from terrorist actions or from drugs traffic.

By increasing the mutual confidence among the member states, the mechanism could favor the harmonization of the respective countries' foreign policy, the Romanian dignitary opined, the coherent promotion of their mutual interests within the CSCE structures. At the same time, it could encourage the gradual integration of the participant countries into the already existing European structures and the coordination of their efforts. The political wish of cooperation of the countries participant in the proposed union could materialize by establishing a minimum number of structures to facilitate regular consultations and the implementation of goals.

Such structures could include the setting up of a political consultations mechanism (maybe at a foreign ministers' level) and of a military consultations mechanism which should include or be correlated with mechanism meant to avoid the distorted perception in the military domain, Romania's representative emphasized. This union would be open to all countries considered as belonging to Central and Eastern Europe. To render the security-questions measures more important it would be necessary for the Soviet Union, the United States, the European communities or the Western European Union to participate in the meetings of all special-status structures as permanent observers for the time being their consensus being a condition necessary for any decision in the respective problems, Adrian Nastase also specified.

Hungary Critical of Romanian Proposal

LD2504220291 Budapest MTI in English 2044 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Prague, April 25 (MTI)—The international security policy conference in Prague is being attended by Tamas Katona, secretary of state at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In his Thursday contribution, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase proposed setting up a union of the Eastern and Central European countries. He said this would be an open organization designed to act as a 'catalyser' in the transformation of the Warsaw Treaty. According to the Romanian minister, the union in question could also monitor the processes under way in the region and ensure a link with Western Europe.

Speaking to MTI's Prague correspondent, Tamas Katona pointed out that the otherwise well-intentioned Romanian concept carried the danger of missing the opportunity for integration into Europe for several decades ahead.

Katona drew attention to the fact that adopting the proposal would amount to the revival of the old COMECON and Warsaw Treaty. Should such a union be called into existence, we would lose the chance of joining the Common Market, said Katona. However, he admitted that the Romanian proposal had several sensible elements, such as the need to look for a way out from the crisis of trade between the region's countries.

The Hungarian state secretary for foreign affairs said that in the view of Hungary, in the near future the

Western European Union might provide the best organizational background for guaranteeing the security of the continent.

Arbatov, Others Address Conference

LD2604151491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] A two-day conference on European security ended in Prague's Cernin Palace today. Sir Michael Alexander from Great Britain rejected the call of Soviet participants that after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the West too, should think about the future of the North Atlantic Alliance. He emphasized that the dissolution of NATO is neither in the interest of the West, nor is it in the interest of the East. Soviet academician Georgiy Arbatov opposed this argument by saying that NATO, like the Warsaw Pact, represents a symbol of the militarization of Europe and is a remnant of the Cold War.

In a winding-up speech, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier emphasized that European security is indivisible, and that it is based on democracy and the observance of human rights. He expressed the need to prevent the Soviet Union's isolation.

After the conference, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner addressed a news conference in Cernin Palace. According to him, the participants in the conference agreed that European security must incorporate all of Europe, including the Soviet Union, that it must be based on cooperation, and that the guarantee of European security cannot be provided by only one system but by a structure of mutual, complementary institutions.

Woerner on Status of USSR

LD2604175291 Prague CTK in English 1459 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—Participants in the international conference "The Future of European Security", which ended here today, agreed that European security must be invidisible and must include Europe as a whole, including the Soviet Union.

NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told journalists after the conference that a new European security structure must be based on mutual cooperation between the Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe, NATO, the Council of Europe, the West European Union and the European Community.

The participants in the conference agreed on getting over the economic division of Europe by, for instance, creating conditions for exports from the former Soviet bloc countries. All aspects, i.e. military, humanitarian, political, economic, etc, must be taken into consideration on the path towards economic integration, Dienstbier said. The participants agreed the iron courtain must be abolished, not moved to the East, Dienstbier said.

Woerner said the conference agreed to intensify ties between Central and East European countries and NATO, as all possibilities have not yet been exhausted. All participants agreed Europe is only at the beginning of the process of building a free continent although the first achievements are already evident, Woerner said. It will, however, take a long time to achieve eventual objectives.

Woerner described the two-day conference, attended by some 100 political, economic and military experts from Europe, the U.S. and Canada, as another step bringing NATO and Central and East European countries closer to one another. The fact that it took place in Prague proves that the old dividing lines in Europe are being removed. Woerner said Central and East Europe "better understands our attitude".

The Soviet Union must become aware that NATO members and the Central and East European countries are willing to build a new Europe together with the Soviet Union, Woerner told the press conference.

A pan-European security system cannot exist without the Soviet Union but much will depend on the Soviet foreign policy, the country's internal development and its attitude to the Central and East European states. The Soviet Union must be aware that "we are not indifferent" to these countries' security, he said.

NATO plays an irreplaceable role in building the future Europe. Its ensures a counter-balance to the Soviet armed forces, is a valuable community with a firm basis on which cooperative security in Europe can be built. NATO strives for cooperation, being an exclusively defensive institution and a democraic organization. The Soviet Union has to accept these aspects and change its stand on NATO concept. "We are not enemies," Woerner said.

Dienstbier told journalists some political forces in the Soviet Union consider their country's security in an isolated way, fearing NATO as a super-power.

Woerner confirmed the invitation for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to visit Brussels. He highlighted the diplomatic relations between NATO and the Soviet Union and voiced NATO willingness to develop them.

Dienstbier said that a new Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty is being prepared with the aim to harmonically supplement the creation of a security network in Europe.

Woerner called for the strengthening of the CSCE institutions and said the development of the whole structure must be accompanied by good bilateral relations.

Kostov on Government Program, BSP's Fate

AU2904070891 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 16 22 Apr 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Kostov by Angelina Petrova; place and date not given: "We Have No Money, the Nation Constitutes Our Capital"]

[Excerpts] [Petrova] Aleksandur Yordanov advised me to ask you if it is true that, following his visit to the United States, the IMF will grant Bulgaria twice as much credit as was agreed previously.

[Kostov] Hmm. You say twice as much?

[Petrova] Do you believe it?

[Kostov] I am a man of finance. I believe only in the money that we have already received. [passage omitted]

[Petrova] People say that the Ministry of Finance is the back door to power. How did this door look when you walked through it?

[Kostov] Yes, the saying is true. All the threads start from here, and all the garbage is discarded here. The memory of the previous system also resides here. This was the place where the big games were played. I hope that many things will soon become clear. My predecessor Mr. Belchev knows a great deal. Furthermore, he is indeed a good financial expert, in my view the only serious economist in the previous governments.

[Petrova] Was he an honorable man, insofar as this can be said of a long-serving finance minister of the former system?

[Kostov] God alone knows. I intend to hang the portraits of all the previous finance ministers in the reception room, and his portrait will be among them. Whatever kind of man he was, he was first and foremost minister of finance of Bulgaria. Few appreciate the importance of this post.

[Petrova] Accusations have been made in the National Assembly that it is not clear what the next step in the reform will be. Members insist on seeing a program including deadlines, of the kind that you demanded from Lukanov when he presented his government's program last October.

[Kostov] We have such a program, and it was specified first in the agreement between the political forces, and later in the agreement on social peace signed in the trilateral commission. The government has also issued its legislative program. In addition, the program is stated in the government's letter of intent that was agreed with the IMF.

[Petrova] So far you have not mentioned a single document has been discussed in the Grand National Assembly.

[Kostov] The law on the state budget and the other laws that enable the budget to be fulfilled are such documents. The rest is the business of the government, not the Grand National Assembly. Just as the National Assembly does not allow the government to interfere in its work, so the government, as the executive power, will not permit the National Assembly to tell it, for example, what agreement it should conclude at the meetings of the trilateral commission. This is our affair, we are responsible for the day-to-day political and economic situation in the country and, in contrast to the previous government, are very well aware of this responsibility. We will bear this responsibility as long as we can. This is what separation of powers means.

Regarding the government's economic policy program, my personal view is that we are not bound to divulge it to anyone. Part of this program includes moves that should not be publicized in advance. There are some matters that depend on a state of fine balance, and others that represent compromise solutions. Should we ask the legislature to deal with such matters?

[Petrova] Do you have any opponents in the government?

[Kostov] Everyone is an opponent. Each maintains his own view. We are not foot soldiers. The government is a representative microcosm of the society, and the same things happen within the government as in society. We are like a surveillance capsule in space, seeking to find the way.

[Petrova] What actually is happening in the government? Was the exchange of political slaps in the face between Aleksandur Tomov and Dimitur Ludzhev a mere accident?

[Kostov] It seems it was not, but rather an attempt to reap political dividends or save political credits.

[Petrova] Tomov started it first. It seems that he acted on a recommendation from his party.

[Kostov] Let us hope that is not true.

[Petrova] Was Ludzhev's reaction only prompted by Tomov's statements?

[Kostov] I cannot judge exactly. I have little time available to deal with the political situation in the country. I am a systematic analyst, and work according to classical methods: a data base, investigation, analysis, assessment, prospects, and forthcoming actions. I do not permit myself to make improvised judgments of the political situation, because I have no time now for all this. I only read DUMA and DEMOKRATSIYA in the car, on my way to work in the morning. I also miss my meetings with my constituents, I simply have no time. I lack many other things as well that would help me to get my bearings in the political scene. [passage omitted]

[Petrova] It seems that you have no problems with the trade unions. Is this so?

[Kostov] I feel this is hardly the time to admit that there are many problems with the trade unions. In general, within the trilateral commission the real confrontation is between the unions and the government. The unions are consciously making the big social concessions, in the course of and for the the sake of the reform. The fact that the trade unions contain many intelligent people gives us a big chance. This is an exceptional chance for the reform. I can well imagine the unions being led by a bunch of blockheads, which is indeed quite possible. However, the leaders of the Bulgarian trade unions are intelligent men, who are incidentally fighting the good fight much better than us members of the government.

[Petrova] Do the union leaders have any political ambitions?

[Kostov] I think not, despite the fact that at the moment the trade unions actually form a powerful political force, perhaps the strongest one in the country. They, at least, are aware of their position. Nonetheless, we should not forget who overthrew the previous government—it was the two trade union confederations who achieved this. Furthermore, they are playing a much bigger role in the course of national events than any of the political parties. I venture to assert this with a full sense of responsibility. By signing the agreement on social peace, the trade unions assumed a great responsibility, and came away from the talks with substantial assets and increased prestige. Who else could have achieved this? The political parties are losing prestige in some respects.... [passage omitted]

[Petrova] Will the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] be removed through bloodshed?

[Kostov] No, the process will be bloodless. The Communists, or Socialists, simply have to go, because they bear grave guilt before the people for many things. I am very attracted by the idea of an immense force being removed, of its losing the battle, and any person who has done even a little to achieve this deserves great honor. From this viewpoint, I may indeed seem like an extremist. However, I cannot imagine our country being ruled in the future by a communist government, or in cooperation with them. This would be a dangerous precedent, because it is hardly possible to seek an optimum society and economy with the aid of such a party's ideology.

[Petrova] Yet surely the BSP claims it is changing?

[Kostov] Really? It is changing, yet remains 500,000-strong! It is changing, yet I am continually threatened over the telephone, my secretaries are terrorized, and my family frightened.

[Petrova] Do you think that the Union of Democratic Forces itself is partly responsible for the fact that 500,000 people reregistered as BSP members?

[Kostov] This is certainly true. The opposition is not clever enough, it does not know how to behave, it cannot find the right tone. The opposition has few front-rank politicians; they make serious mistakes, they are not professionals, because they have had no practice. A person needs a long time to become a good politician.

[Petrova] Do you belong to any party?

[Kostov] I have no party, but this does not worry me. I have told you what I find interesting, and what must happen in our country for everything else to return to normal. I will certainly never agree to become the servant of any specific political ideology. Pushkarov's bitter party experience shows that joining a party may not always be the best thing that a man can do in his life.

[Petrova] So how will you run in the next elections?

[Kostov] I have no political ambitions. Indeed, I could not have any, given that I have taken on the job of completing this reform—all the more in view of the fact that, when this government was formed, there was talk of its being a kamikaze cabinet. A kamikaze has no right to think about his future.

Views Pace of Economic Reform

AU2904080091 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Kostov by Aleksandur Angelov; place and date not given: "Reform Is Not Slipping, But Taking A Natural Breather"]

[Text] [Angelov] Mr. Kostov, when the reform started you dreamed of "scope," of a "broad meadow." Have you succeeded in achieving this?

[Kostov] Yes, we are already really in the "meadow."

[Angelov] And what about the future?

[Kostov] First of all, the reform must break the mold of people's world views. What is being done now is the fruit of collective efforts by the Tripartite Commission for Coordinating Interests, in which the trade unions and employers are taking part. In this sense, neither the cabinet nor I myself have our hands free, so I cannot predict the future with any certainty. The final version is being developed from the different viewpoints and arguments within the commission. This is in fact how our idea of launching the reform was formed. I believe now that if we had started along the lines we had already prepared, the initial launch would have been much more painful, but would have been completed sooner. We would have had no problems in restoring the country's financial position, which would have been achieved this month, and the market would also have been brought into equilibrium at the same time. Now, the latter still has to be achieved. We have only managed to finish half the job.

[Angelov] What precisely should have been done?

[Kostov] We should have immediately raised the interest rate to give more scope for liberalized prices. Many compromises were also made in the budget laws and the interest rates on old loans.

[Angelov] Are you afraid now? Do these compromises worry you?

[Kostov] No, they do not worry me. They are merely slowing down the reform. However, there is no alternative, and nothing can stop the reform. It has become a national goal, so whoever comes after us can only continue the reform. There is simply no way back. My colleague Pushkarov says that we have burned all our bridges behind us. It is a pity that some people still do not realize this. Although there were certain dangerous moments during the initial stage, now I am not afraid of anything. I know that what we are doing is necessary.

[Angelov] What proof is there that the reform is not slipping?

[Kostov] At the moment the reform is going through a brief natural period of stagnation. The new stage is starting, and things will soon take off again. However, the price that we will have to pay will hurt. A delusion has quickly appeared that we will see an early recovery, but unfortunately this optimism is not justified. The Bulgarian is indeed an irrepressible optimist, but it is indeed a delusion to expect quick results in the space of a few months. This is simply impossible. I have said on another occasion that if the reform goes well we will see the first results in the middle of next year. Then large groups of people will begin for the first time to feel that their position has improved. The economy will start to pick up this autumn, but this will only make up for the great decline so far. To be frank, even now the most energetic and risk-taking people think their situation is fine.

[Angelov] Do you derive encouragement from the real performance of the economy in the first quarter?

[Kostov] The statistics show that the trend toward a sharp decline in production has been halted. Whereas during the first two months of the year production declined by 28.8 percent, as condemned with the same period in 1990, during March the fall was only 10.7 percent. We see no further dangerous nosedive. The fact that certain enterprises are not making their tax contributions to the budget has caused exceptional difficulties for us. I would add that these enterprises are doing this in an organized manner. Such actions create even more risks for the state. For this reason, we can make no more compromises, and we will propose that such directors and chief accountants be dismissed on disciplinary grounds.

[Angelov] The implementation of the budget started with many burdens and with great ambitions of quickly reducing the deficit. At the end of April, a report on the budget has to be presented to the legislature, which is to adopt a new budget law. What has the Ministry of Finance managed to achieve so far?

[Kostov] During the first 100 days we at least managed to seal the biggest holes from which budget funds had been leaking. Now, the biggest problems are connected with pensions and social security. The second major item of expenditure is to cover the negative trade balances with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. We also face costs connected with compensating for the differences in the prices of energy sources, which amount to over 1 billion leva for the first quarter alone.

[Angelov] Finally, how will we know that the reform has succeeded? According to Czechoslavak Economic Minister [Vladimir] Dlouhy, a rise in unemployment to 8-10 percent will mean that the reform has failed. Some of our economists claim that a sure sign of success will be the establishment of an interbank foreign exchange market in Bulgaria with up to $30 million changing hands per day; at the moment, the total monthly sales of foreign currency do not exceed this figure.

[Kostov] In my opinion, it would be normal if the daily foreign currency market in Bulgaria reaches $10 million. As far as unemployment is concerned, 8-10 percent is the limit that we must not exceed. World experience has shown that above this level it is very difficult to bring the situation back to normal.

However, what are the signs of success? I believe that we have still not received the first fruits of the reform. The primary goal is to saturate the market to the extent that people can quickly and easily stock their cupboards with high-quality goods. A further main task that must be achieved is to halt the decline. It will be a very important sign of success if exports pick up, and especially if a restructuring of exports is achieved, through increasing trade with the developed countries. Of course, success also depends on adopting laws on privatization, removing monopolies, and protecting foreign investments. When we see in Sofia a hundred or two hundred smart stores belonging to foreign companies, this will indeed be a sight for sore eyes.

We will also be able to see that the reform has succeeded when elements of a true market appear—with real, lively competition for good jobs. In my view, the prevention of hyperinflation will also be a good sign, despite the fact that many economic leaders, private companies, banks, and farmers at the moment want inflation, and want it to be as high as possible. This is because inflation provides a far less aggressive market environment than the deflation that we have been experiencing from the end of February until now. If we permit more inflation, the enterprises will manage to fully settle their debts, which even now have been greatly devalued. On the other hand, deflation protects the interests of the population. For this precise reason, the government is following a consistent deflationary policy, not because this is what the IMF, for example, wants, but because support for the reform depends on it.

Future of Secret Service Discussed

AU2504195791

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 19 April 1991 carries on page 4 a 1,200-word interview with Major General Lyudmil Marinchevski, chief secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, by Krasimir Evlogiev, entitled: "The KGB Is Leaving. There Will Be No Protectora." The same issue on the same page carries a 1,600-word article by Dimitur Batalov, member of the National Assembly from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], entitled "Vigilance is the Mother of Freedom. Both items are devoted to the present situation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs services. However, while the Marinchevski interview specifically deals with the secret services, Batalov's article is devoted to the general state of the ministry and contains severe criticism against Khristo Danov, the present minister of internal affairs. Major General Marinchevski, in his interview, points out the "real changes" that have occurred in the Ministry of Internal Affairs praising the "elimination of the repressive system and its replacement by a qualititatively new system with different structures and tasks." He reiterates that not "a cosmetic, but a fundamental change" took place and stresses that "spy mania and political persecutions belong to the past. They could not be restored because the structures on which they relied no longer exist."

Marinchevski dwells on the presence of "19 KGB representatives" in Bulgaria, prior to 1989, describing their functions and privileges in detail, adding that they had "free access to the Ministry of Internal Affairs building," while "the chief resident and some of his colleagues" had offices in the same building. Regarding the present state of affairs, Marinchevski explains: "For the time being, two officially declared functionaries of the Russian secret services who have diplomatic status are working in our country. An additional five or six members' technical staff is working for them. I am authorized to declare that the cooperation agreement signed between the two services in 1988 is no longer in force. We are expected to sign a new one that precludes all ideological and political elements and all clauses of which shall be based on mutual interest, equal rights, and sovereignty."

Asked about the presence of Bulgarian secret services abroad, Marinchevski answers: "As of 1 June 1991 only 20 percent of our employees will remain in the USSR. " He further explains the "modest presence" of Bulgarian secret service agents in other Eastern and Western European countries who are mainly in charge of security measures within the relevant diplomatic missions's buildings.

Answering the question about the possible replacement of the KGB by "secret services of other state," such as the CIA for example, Marinchevski categorically denies such assumptions, stressing that "our contacts with special services of foreign countries are built on new principles."

Krasimir Evlogiev's last question is related to the "Bulgarian citizens' concern" about the domestic security situation, comparing the country to a "free-for-all turf, where foreign agents, mafiosi, and conspirators are unrestrained in their activities."

Marinchevski answers that the National Service For the Protection of the Constitution has taken over the functions of the former State Security's Second Department that was dealing with counterespionage, and is now responsible for Bulgaria's internal security. He adds that a "similar function will be exerted by the newly established Service for Combating Organized, Crime, Drugs, and Illegal Arms Traffic," which should sufficiently guarantee law and order in the country.

Dimitur Batalov's article, entitled: "Vigilance is the Mother of Freedom," is highly critical of the Ministry of Interior's present activities for which Minister Khristo Danov is chiefly responsible, the author claims. He points out that, immediately following 1989, relations between the population and the militia forces greatly improved which he attributes to the former Minister Semerdzhiev's efficient leadership method. The author praises the establishment of a "group for political contacts" within the ministry that guaranteed the "total political neutrality of the milita forces" and maintained excellent contacts with the opposition. Batalov points out that after Semerdzhiev's replacement by Minister Penev the positive development "seemed to slow down and reach a certain stagnation, which could be attributed to the general inactivity of the Lukanov government, but valuable time was wasted one way or another." Batalov cites a few recent examples of the police forces ineffeciency under Danov's leadership claiming that the "rank and file militia men in the far away regions of the country are confused and have lost their confidence" in the leadership.

The author further describes the shortcomings of the new National Service for Protection of the Constitution in the following manner: "Apart from the minister's lack of professionalism, the views of certain government members exert a negative effect upon the work of the service. They consider any kind of intelligence, or counterintelligence activities as remnants from the 'totalitarian past.' According to them, friendly relations between two states preclude the existence of state secrets and the mutual interest in such secrets, while they describe a 'democratic state' as a free-for-all turf."

Further dwelling on the minister of interior's personality, Batalov stresses that, contrary to the general opionion, he should not necessarily be a legal expert, but a "good administrator, regardless of his education and political affiliation." He criticizes the "intrigues" of certain former exponents of the totalitarian regime who in spite of having resigned from their highranking positions at the interior ministry are still "pulling the strings" and exert a negative influence upon the minister. "Such people are advising the minister and instilling preposterous ideas into him to such an extent

that he refused to maintain contacts with the SDS on several occasions, describing them as unncessary."

The author further criticizes the recent "draft" on the futurew functions and structures of the Internal Affairs Ministry. "A close examination of the document in question reveals a dangerous trend of creating an impotent ministry deprived of any authority." Batalov further raises the question of "who would be interested in doing so?" and points out two groups of people, namely "those who pursue the long-term goal of creating illegal political structures in the country" and those "who intend to engage in uncontrollable financial operations and in 'laundering' illegal financial assets that were accumulated not only immediately following 10 November 1989, but also more recently."

After dwelling on further shortcomings of the draft, such as "duplication of functions" and plans of establishing a "minister's cabinet with vague, consultative functions," Batalov asks: "What should we do?" and submits his own proposals. The first of them is that "Khristo Danov be immediately relieved of his post as minister of internal affairs, having convinced us of his incapacity to cope with his difficult tasks." Batalov further proposes his replacement by "a minister of internal affairs with confirmed professional qualifications, even if he has no legal training. The best solution would be a non-party member, but even if he should be affiliated with any party whatsoever, this should not disturb us provided he has the necessary qualifications."

Batalov further demands that a bill on the ministry's future organization and functions be drafted "after consulting experts" and "after being discussed at the National Security Council." He further proposes that an alternative bill be submitted, "even if it is not drafted by the Interior Ministry."

Batalov points out that "all this" should be accomplished prior to the local elections, considering that "we cannot talk about honest and democratic elections without strong and efficient public security services."

Last, but not least the author urges his readers not to forget that democracy means law and order above everything, adding: "let us recall Thomas Jefferson's famous saying: "Vigilance is the mother of freedom."

New Ambassador to USSR Interviewed

AU2604123191 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 16 22 Apr 91 p 6

[Interview with Vladimir Velchev, ambassador to the USSR, by Penka Cherneva; place and date not given: "Our New Ambassador to the USSR, Vladimir Velchev, Does Not Intend To Be Ambassador-Kamikaze"—first paragraph is POGLED introduction]

[Excerpts] Vladimir Velchev is 50, married, has one son, speaks English and Russian, is a lawyer, and intends to work for establishing a new model of Bulgarian-USSR relations.

[Cherneva] Were you surprised by your appointment as ambassador to the USSR?

[Velchev] I really was surprised to a certain extent, because I was used to the previous practice, namely, that the ambassador is a member of the party leadership, I mean the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and usually—a member of the government. I never thought that they would send a career diplomat to the USSR....

[Cherneva] People say that you are a professional career diplomat.

[Velchev] Well, yes, if you say so. I have worked for 27 years at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For half of this period my work was related to the USSR, but I never visited the USSR. I have accumulated certain experience in England, the United States, and Canada. I think that this will prove beneficial in my future work. [passage omitted]

[Cherneva] According to what was announced recently, at the beginning of May you will greet Mr. Dimitur Popov in Moscow. It appears that you will have to work for Bulgaria's image in the USSR.

[Velchev] It was only natural that during this difficult period contradictions and stagnation emerged both in our contacts and in the confidence shared by the leaderships of the two countries. However, I do not detect any premeditation on both sides. Therefore, I am confident that we will quickly overcome the stagnation in our relations. Perhaps not everyone would agree that there is stagnation in our relations, but this is how I see things. We will overcome it also with the assistance of the mass media. We simply must see the USSR in a different manner and assess Bulgarian-Soviet relations in a more realistic manner. We must not be ruled by bias, ad hoc considerations, and ideological remnants.

[Cherneva] What will change in the size of our embassy personnel? Will there be a fundamental change?

[Velchev] Only eight out of the 22 diplomats will remain. Perhaps thus we will find ourselves under the reasonable minimum. This remains to be seen, and if necessary—we will correct the situation. The technical personnel will be reduced by 50 percent. This also applies to the general consulates. I must by all means mention the new element in our activity—the work with the Bulgarian population of the USSR.

[Cherneva] What comradely advice did you receive from Viktor Sharapov [USSR ambassador to Bulgaria] upon your departure?

[Velchev] Oh well, we do not dispense advice. He sincerely wished me successful and fruitful work. I wish him the same....

Agents' State Security Files Reported Destroyed

AU2504180491 Sofia BTA in English 1412 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—The police files of the agents of Section 6 of Department 6 of the State Security have been destroyed. Section 6 was the party (communist) counterintelligence of the political police. The files were destroyed as early as February 1990 with the approval of the then minister of the interior Atanas Semerdzhiev, says in "DUMA" the head of Section 6 whose name is not mentioned. He adds that the archives of this top secret unit have not disappeared nor have they been hidden as report has it. They have been kept at the National Service for Protection of the Constitution since its founding in February last year, a fact which the Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office and the Central Investigation Department are well aware of.

On the other hand, a former political police official says in today's "FAKS" that the archives of Section 6, whose chief was subordinate to Todor Zhivkov, were destroyed before Zhivkov's fall at the end of 1989. The same source argues that if the scheme for infiltrating police informers among the opposition really existed, the destruction of the political police archives would have been obligatory.

According to the former chief of Section 6, this unit was engaged in combating political and economic crimes committed by top party and state functionaries, as well as "revisionism."

The top leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party assigned the section to conduct monitoring. According to the source quoted by "DUMA," in 1989 it kept under surveillance "a limited number" of dissidents of the Club for Support of Glasnost and Restructuring, as the then minister of the interior Mr. Dimitur Stoyanov had ordered. The section never organized repressive actions on its own initiative.

The former chief claims that there were no former or present MP's and leaders of the major political forces members of the cabinet among the agents at the section.

The source quoted by "FAKS" believes that the police file gimmicks are meant to have a far-reaching effect. The moments when information is leaked are specially chosen. The former employee of the political police speaks of a struggle between lobbies. The "French" and the "monarchist" lobbies were the targets of two blows. He himself had worked on the "Turkish connection" and believes that such leaks of information are in the interests of "one great power and its principal ally in the Balkans."

Legislators Aiding Security Service Identified

AU2604093791 Sofia FAKS in Bulgarian 22 Apr 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "List of Informers in the Grand National Assembly"]

[Text] Grand National Assembly members who have signed declarations on cooperation with the Sixth Department of State Security or former State Security structures:

Asen Raynov, Boyko Kostov, Vasil Kostov, Georgi Markov, Dimitur Batalov, Ibrakhim Tatarlu, Ivan Mikhov (Drashkov), Yordan Kukurov, Yosif Petrov, Kalin Dimitrov, Krum Nevrokopski, Lazar Dulgarski, Manol Zhurnalov, Mikhail Mikhaylov, Nuredin Akhmedov, Ognyan Mishev, Metropolitan Pankratiy, Petko Ogoyski, Pirin Vodenicharov, Stoycho Donev, Tsanko Tsankov, and Yanko Yankov.

Members of the Grand National Assembly who have assumed commitments and have more closely cooperated with the Sixth Department:

Ivan Glushkov, Ivan Palchev, Boryan Kalchev, Petur Beron, Todor Kolev, Roman Sadov, Trifon Georgiev, and Doncho Karakachanov.

Grand National Assembly members—payroll employees of the Sixth Department:

Blagoy Dechev, Ivan Krustev, and Ibrakhim Tatarlu.

Havel, Dienstbier Meet Austria's Vranitzky

AU2604100191 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 26 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] Prague—Chancellor Franz Vranitzky discussed current developments with Czechoslovak President Havel and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

In the talk with the chancellor, Havel expressed the expectation that the economic cooperation between his country and Austria will be further intensified.

The CSFR president showed understanding for Austria's concerns about the Czechoslovak nuclear power plants that are close to the border.

Vranitzky said that the concept of European security should no longer be exclusively considered under military aspects, but also under its social and economic aspects.

President Havel Gives Weekly Interview

LD2804182491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1215 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jiri Vejvoda at Prague Castle on 27 April—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Vejvoda] On the way here to Prague Castle, Mr. President, we saw a car making its way through a crowd of tourists. Sitting in that car was the new Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, whom you have just received. How do you assess the past eventful week on the Slovak political scene?

[Havel] It was a dramatic week and perhaps a more important one in Slovak history than it appears just now, because to a certain degree it decided the future of Slovakia. I have the impression that things turned out well. Parliamentary democracy prevailed. Prime Minister Meciar was recalled in the constitutional and correct manner by the Slovak National Council Presidium. Many people in Slovakia could not understand it, did not want to come to terms with it, did not grasp the reasons, and took it as some sort of dirty trick or swindle that a well-liked and popular politician was being recalled. I would like to make a couple of comments on that.

First, I would like to stress once again that it was done in a constitutional and legitimate manner. I would like to stress that the democratic revolution took place on the town squares. Mass public rallies were in fact the only way of overthrowing the totalitarian system, and the rallies and the whole revolution were aimed at enabling us to introduce the principle of genuine democracy, parliamentary democracy, representative democracy. We succeeded in that, we have held free elections, and, it seems to me, that was the moment when politics moved from the town squares into parliament. That, in fact, was what we were seeking to achieve. The fact that the voters often dislike parliament, that they dislike the deputies whom they themselves elected, is a different matter. In a year's time there will be new elections, and they can then elect others. Those are the rules of the game. The citizens have delegated part of their power to their freely elected representatives in the parliaments, and those representatives make the best decisions their knowledge, conscience, political thinking, and political responsibility allow them to make. In some way they are, of course, in contact with their voters and, if they make bad decisions, then the voters have the right in the next elections to elect someone else to represent them.

Nonetheless, it does not seem right to me for people to say that cabinet politics were at work here, that there was an element of alienation from the masses when decisions were made by the legislatures themselves and not on the town squares. Politics cannot be conducted on a long-term basis in the town squares. This is for extreme historic moments when violent regimes are overthrown that cannot be overthrown by the parliamentary methods because the institutions of a parliamentary democracy do not exist. This, however, does not work on a long-term basis. That, after all, is why democracy and legislatures exist. It has taken decades for them to be shaped and tested. None of them is perfect, and they never will be, but this is more practical than street politics. Street politics would represent a state of permanent revolution that could not have a happy end. At the same time, however, I understand the unrest caused in Slovakia by the Slovak National Council Presidium's decision in a certain sense, because it seems to me that the decision has not been explained with enough clarity and detail to the Slovak public in all the media. The Presidium has been dealing with the problem for six weeks; its decision is well-founded, well-grounded, and justified. I know the reasons for the recall, but I have the advantage of moving in the higher echelons of politics, I know one or two things that others do not, and it seems to me that the whole matter should probably have been explained to the public in a more understandable way, and that the political waters in Slovakia would be less troubled if this had happened.

I would also like to comment that prime ministers come and go—that is normal in a democracy. Mr. Meciar is energetic and flamboyant, an extremely hardworking man who has not been executed by this decision or swept off the political scene or out of political life. He is here, he will certainly bounce back, he could return to political life—that is normal and it is part of democracy that politicians come and go in their posts. They all learn from it, and periods in opposition and periods in government enable politicians to mature and build up experience, and Mr. Meciar's supporters should not take this as something fatal or as the be all and end all.

Perhaps I could wind up this subject by saying one thing: I myself have tried very hard to be neutral in this whole matter and not to take a stance because I absolutely did not want to interfere in the sovereign rights of the Slovak National Council. Even a word from me would have

meant that I was interfering, if only politically, in the powers constitutionally vested in the Council, and that is why I have shown maximum restraint and neutrality in this affair. This does not mean, however, that this matter does not affect the whole country—of course it does. As you have already implied, the new Slovak prime minister, Jan Carnogursky, came to see me today; we talked for about an hour, and my impressions of that talk were very good. I think that the government will function better, operate better, and that it will have clearer, more intelligible and at the same time realistic political vision. It seems to me that just now this is not only better politically, but the only possible alternative for the development of the Slovak political scene. It is—at least I feel it is—an orientation which is more open to modern civic society, more open to the world, more European. It lays emphasis on economic reform although, of course, account is taken of the need for a specific day-to-day economic policy that exists in a certain form and must be conducted even though market conditions are gradually being created. I feel that in this matter, too, the government will have perhaps a less ostentatious but more specific policy. So in short I have a good impression of all this, and at the same time perhaps I ought to say once again that, when I thanked Prime Minister Meciar for his work in the post, it was not just politeness for the sake of protocol. He is indeed a hardworking man who has Slovakia's best interests at heart, but that does not mean that he cannot be wrong, that he cannot make mistakes, and it definitely does not mean that, if the Slovak National Council reaches the conclusion that he should be recalled, it cannot recall him.

[Vejvoda] Although Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak has also been recalled from his post, are you afraid, Mr. President, that the economic reform concept could not differ to some extent between Slovakia and the Czech lands?

[Havel] I was sorry to see Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak recalled, because I considered him a very good and capable economist. Nonetheless, in this respect, too, it is not appropriate for me to make even the slightest criticism of the Slovak National Council Presidium's decision, because I would be flying in the face of what I said a moment ago—I absolutely respect its decision. I also discussed this today with Jan Carnogursky, and I liked one thing he said very much: he said that here in the Czech lands we sometimes have the tendency to identify the destiny and future of the economic reform in Slovakia solely with Mr. Kucerak, but this is not how it is. The economic reform is like a train—once it gets going you cannot jump off, and it does not depend on a single individual.

[Vejvoda] today I scanned various foreign dailies and magazines. They wrote about us not only in the context of such unfortunate phenomena as nationalism, but they also often mentioned something that we seem to have been carelessly ignoring lately—racism. Do you follow this phenomenon in our country closely?

[Havel] Yes, I do and I am alarmed by it. In a way it is understandable that an explosion of freedom is being accompanied also by these phenomena, but I think it is extremely important that we fight them from the beginning.

Some time ago, my walking tour in Bratislava, during which I was attacked and alarmed above all by the anti-Semitic slogans, made news. I think it would be very unwise to assume that such bad signals have emerged only in Slovakia. They have emerged also in Bohemia. [passage omitted]

I think it is no solution if our press fails to report expressions of racism that take place in our country. On the contrary, it is necessary to make them known, it is necessary to make our society understand the danger they represent. The argument that it concerns only groups of brawlers and criminals and so on living on the margins of our society is not credible. Hitlerism was also perceived for a long time as a comical group of Munich beer drinkers, and we know what the consequences were.

Whether they are expressions of racism aimed against the refugees, those unfortunate people from Romania and Albania, or whether they are anti-Vietnamese, anti-Romany, or anti-Semitic sentiments—whatever form of racism these expressions assume, it is necessary to be aware of them from the beginning and condemn them clearly, oppose them unequivocally. Otherwise, a very poisonous seed will have been placed in the foundations of the democracy we are building. [passage omitted]

[Vejvoda] The figures who have really something important to say about the notion of present and future security in Europe were in Prague this week. What did you discuss with Mr. Woerner and others? What did they tell you and what did you tell them, Mr. President? [passage omitted]

[Havel] I received some of the guests of the conference on security in Europe here at the castle. I was glad to have an opportunity to speak with Chancellor Vranitzky. I also received Mr. Kvitsinskiy, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, as well as Mr. Wolfowitz, U.S. under secretary of defense, and I held very open talks with both of them about the future structure of Europe, about the interests of various governments and various countries.

What is interesting is that we kept returning to the subject of our treaty with the Soviet Union that is being drafted. It is of great importance and is to be part of a network of new contractual relations between us and neighboring countries, our neighbors. The agreement is more or less drafted and could be signed soon.

Nevertheless, it includes one point, one paragraph, on which the Soviet and Czechoslovak sides have not reached an agreement yet. It was this disputed point that I mainly spoke about with Mr. Kvitsinskiy.

It is a rather interesting matter. We have the feeling that the formulation of the paragraph in question presented

by the Soviet side to a certain degree inconspicuously ties the hands of Czechoslovak policy-making in future, that it impinges on our sovereignty. Some other governments do not feel this way. The Soviet Union has also been preparing similar treaties with other countries of the former Communist Bloc. Romania has already signed such a treaty, and it includes the paragraph in question in the Soviet version. Nevertheless, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia have embarked upon intensive talks about this one paragraph with the Soviet side.

I firmly believe that in the end we will reach a formulation acceptable to both sides.

Why do I speak about it at all? It is not common to say much about treaties that are being drafted—once they are drafted then they go through a normal process of approval. Why do I mention this issue? Discussions about this clause show that perhaps we are really living in the period when our general political orientation is being decided for long decades to come. [passage omitted]

Of course, our first task now is to take quick and decisive steps to create a normal healthy economic milieu, to create a market economy. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that by creating this milieu we have already won and do not need to take care of anything else, that the milieu itself is capable of solving everything in the best way. It is not so. Even in the countries with a highly developed market economy there are strategic jobs, there are certain posts that state and governments must fill in the sphere of economy. They cannot be omitted, and the state is not freed from them.

This is doubly true in our conditions where the entire natural structure of our economic life was very violently and brutally disrupted by interventions from the center. A network of industry throughout our Republic as well as a network of contacts between individual industry branches that had naturally grown up over decades, as well as healthy economic development, was in fact disrupted violently; everything was rebuilt and restructured and badly done, in accordance with decisions made at some central planning table.

I think that it is not possible to go back to the original situation, at least in the first transient phase, without some use of central intervention.

What I say here sounds unpopular in the present atmosphere, but once you stop suspecting me of being some kind of crypto-socialist, and once you think about it in a matter-of-fact way, then in my view we have to admit it is so. In fact, it is being confirmed again and again. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, whenever one talks of thinking about the future, about strategic thinking, then one is suspected of intending to plan things centrally. It is not a matter of planning, of a command-directives system, it is a matter of thinking in concepts. [passage omitted]

Havel Names New Chief of Army General Staff

LD2904092691 Prague CTK in English 0856 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 29 (CTK)—Major-General Karel Bezl, an adviser to the Czechoslovak defence minister, was appointed chief of the Czechoslovak Army's General Staff upon an order of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today.

Bezl replaces Lieutenant-General Anton Slimak.

Rychetsky Interviewed on Role of Civic Movement

LD2604105491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Interview with Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky by Marie Fleissigova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] The Civic Movement has been preparing itself for its congress. [Deputy Prime Minister] Pavel Rychetsky, member of its preparatory commmittee, was interviewed by Marie Fleissigova:

[Fleissigova] You are preparing yourself for the constitutional congress of the Civic Movement, which is one of Civic Forum's successor organizations. What have you taken over from Civic Forum, and how do you differ from other successors of Civic Forum?

[Rychetsky] We think that the idea of Civic Movement, that is, of a movement of citizens struggling to achieve freedom and democracy, is not dead at all. It is an important element on the political map of this country—policy not strictly restricted to a party spirit but policy of a wide political consensus has a decisive significance. [passage omitted]

[Fleissigova] You brought seven trade union leaders with you to your last press conference. This means you wish to cooperate with trade unions. Who else do you want to cooperate with?

[Rychetsky] We do not try to win trade union support for Civic Movement but for the common idea of transforming our society—this means also for the other political parties. We know that they are going to have the decisive word in the worst moments to be brought about by social consequences [of economic reform] awaiting us. We consider both the Civic Democratic Party and the Civic Democratic Alliance, which are Civic Forum's successors, to be our natural partners, desite some disharmony. We wish to cooperate with Christian parties—and we do cooperate with them within the Czech Government—and also cooperation with them in the parliaments is very good. In Slovakia we would like to preserve Public Against Violence as our partner as it is a significant democratic, liberal force. [passage omitted]

Pithart on Civic Democratic Party, Relations

AU2604135691 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Apr 91 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Petr Novacek in Olomouc on 20 April: "We Are Beginning To Recover From the Crisis"—first paragraph is CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart, representing the Civic Movement, participated as a guest in the constituent congress of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. We asked him for an interview on Saturday evening [20 April].

[Novacek] What impression have you gained, Mr. Pithart, from the—in places forceful—political report presented by ODS Preparatory Committee Chairman V. Klaus?

[Pithart] These ideas were heard in the same hall at the Civic Forum's working meeting at the end of last year. I would say that they have matured, calmed down, become more precise, and, at the same time, they have not lost their strength. Of course, my impression is that of a viewer, yet I appreciate very much that Minister Klaus has fulfilled the task in such a short period of time.

[Novacek] Nevertheless, Mr. Klaus has several times expressed criticism about the Civic Movement, whose representative you are. The ODS and the Civic Movement are crossing swords more frequently, and this is why I am asking you: Do you still believe in cooperation between both streams of the former Civic Forum?

[Pithart] Such cooperation will be difficult, and in my address to the congress I tried to persuade the members present that this cooperation will still be necessary for a certain period of time. I have promised that I will do all I can to achieve this. It will be necessary for the agreements that have been concluded—and those that will be concluded—to be respected. Here I have promised once again that I will try to be their guarantor. On the other hand, one cannot imagine that a sharp exchange of opinions will not take place from time to time. One took place here, between Minister Klaus and Deputy Prime Minister Rychetsky, who was not present. However, I still have a feeling that this is not a deviation from what is normal. I do not think that the Civic Movement's program, or its implementation, has been directly under attack here. The program is still in the state of being born. The Civic Movement will hold its constituent meeting next week. In my opinion, a reaction to the situation, to which Minister Klaus is certainly entitled, was involved here.

[Novacek] And now the last question, Mr. Pithart. We have heard critical words about the Czech Government's too soft policy regarding Czech and Slovak relations. Could you react to this?

[Pithart] The Czech Government's policy is neither soft nor tough. In my opinion, good policy is policy that changes its tempo, methods, and also its attitudes according to the situation. Of course, a tough policy adopted since the very beginning is imaginable, yet this implies that it is also imaginable that a crisis in Czech and Slovak relations would have started at the beginning or in the middle of last year. I am not sure whether such a crisis would yield a better solution than today's crisis does—above all, such a solution would be less clear. Today, we better understand the motives and attitudes of some political representatives in Slovakia, and we are better aware of who is who. If we had accelerated the conflict—this is always the easiest thing in politics—we would be more powerless in the middle of the crisis. I think that the crisis has matured at the right time. The speech to the congress here in Olomouc —delivered by the Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak—and the reception it received suggest, in my opinion, that we are finally recovering from the crisis.

Constituent Assembly of Civic Movement Opens

LD2704123191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] A constituent assembly of the Civic Movement met at the Slovansky hall in Prague today. Here is a report by our correspondent:

[Words indistinct] to adopt its statutes and, above all, a comprehensible program. As for the program, one of the chief representatives of the movement, Pavel Rychetsky, said in the main morning address that at the time of dividing the Civic Forum, the movement has chosen the middle path, which wants to hear views from both sides. It differs from the left in its view on the role of the state, whose manipulation of the citizens it wants to oppose, and it differs from the right by a broader understanding of the transformations of society, for example in the view of market economy that should merely constitute a means toward creating a democratic society.

According to Pavel Rychetsky, the Civic Movement envisions, among other things, the building of a legal state, as well as tasks in the environment, education, culture, science, and the press. In its political activity, the Civic Movement wants to fight against destructive trends, against extremes—not by means of squabbles, but by means of talks. Organizationally, the Civic Movement should stay in the middle. It has only one condition for membership, whether individual or collective: The Civic Movement should not accept a member of another political party.

The significance of the talks is emphasized by the participation of significant foreign guests from Sweden, Hungary, and other countries. The delegates welcomed especially warmly the NATO representative, Mr. Woerner, who assured those present about the support of the Western world for our Central European transformations. Speaking on behalf of the French socialists was

[Education] Minister Jospin who praised the significance of justice and right in politics.

Greetings were sent to the constituent assembly by the president of the Republic, Vaclav Havel. He said that at the head of the Civic Movement are many politicians who withstood the test at the time of struggle against totalitarianism, in the dramatic days of our peaceful revolution, and then even in high state posts. At the same time he expressed hope that the Civic Movement will find its firm and important place in our emergent political spectrum, that it will become one of the pivots and guarantors of humanistic ideals for which the opposition to the totalitarian system is striving, which stood in the beginning of Civic Forum and which accompanied our revolution and won general respect for it.

The constituent assembly of the Civic Movement is continuing.

FRG's Genscher Addresses Congress

LD2704131691 Hamburg DPA in German 1244 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Prague (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher voiced support for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at the founding congress of the CSFR liberal Civic Forum today. Genscher, who went to Luxembourg for the EC foreign ministers' meeting, said after his speech, which was received with warm applause, that the Soviet Union must be included in the CSCE process so that Gorbachev's reforms will be successful. However, the "eastern neighbors must be given help to overcome the legacy of socialism", said Genscher. [passage omitted]

Genscher also spoke in favor of admitting the CSFR, Poland, and Hungary, and all European countries that have "found their way back to freedom" to the EC. "Our community is called the European Community, not West European Community", Genscher said to strong applause. Apart from Genscher, Free Democratic Party General Secretary Cornelia Schmalz-Jakobsen also attended the founding congress. NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner also made a brief appearance.

Congress Continues

LD2704142991 Prague CTK in English 1339 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 27 (CTK)—The Civic Movement (OH) wants to be a grouping of the centre, Pavel Rychetsky told some 230 delegates who are meeting here today to officially constitute this faction of the Civic Forum (OF) as a separate movement.

The OH favours minimalization of the role of the state. Unlike the left, it is opposed to a slow-down of the economic reform "because it would mean only lengthening the crisis of our economy". The OH's views on social policies distinguish it from forces of the right. "A market economy is not an end in itself but a means to create a democratic society which respects social justice", Federal Deputy Prime Minister Rychetsky said.

The congress was briefly addressed today by NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner, French Minister of Education Lionel Jospin and General Secretary of the German Free Democratic Party (FDP) Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen.

German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stopped over briefly at the OH congress on his way from Halle to Luxembourg just after noon.

He greeted the congress on behalf of the German liberals whom he represents in the German Government.

In his speech he described freedom, democracy and social justice as the main attributes of the construction of a new Europe.

He said that socialism missed its chance. Conservatism is hardly imaginable as a system of the future and this is why Germany has the system of a social market economy. He called for the formation of a free, liberal Europe.

Genscher's Czechoslovak counterpart, Jiri Dienstbier, has been nominated for OH chairman, Rychetsky and Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart have been proposed for the posts of deputy chairmen.

The other Civic Forum (OF) faction officially constituted itself as the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), led by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, last week. However, the two agreed to operate under one umbrella body at least until the next elections to honour their obligations to those who elected them.

The OF was founded as a movement during the first days of anti-communist protests in Czechoslovakia in November 1989. It ran in the June 1990 parliamentary elections as a platform for views ranging from right to left and won a landslide victory. Polarization in its ranks has since led to its split into two factions and the separation of its member, the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), but they have reached a compromise on cooperation.

Dienstbier described today's OH congress as a second attempt to form an efficient civic political movement in Czechoslovakia after the Civic Forum.

He said that the wide spectrum of views which existed in the movement after November 1989 is no longer possible. In his opinion, however, it was premature to divide the Civic Forum because democratic society has not yet been created and the transition to a market economy has not been completed.

He acknowledged that those who wished the division of the OF had the full right to it and when they "left the common forum they liberated themselves as well as us. In mutual understanding and tolerance, without seeking

those responsible for our failures in anybody but ourselves, we can peacefully set about meaningful work", Dienstbier said.

Participants in today's congress include eight members of the Federal Government and ten members of the Czech Government (both have eighteen members) and some seventy deputies of the Federal Assembly and the Czech parliament.

Latest public opinion polls gave the OH an 8 per cent support and the ODS 19 per cent.

Program Approved

LD2704221891 Prague CTK in English 2017 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 27 (CTK)—In a programme approved at the congress the Civic Movement (OH) said it will strive for civic society and individual liberties. It wants to promote self-government, decentralisation of decision-making and responsibility of citizens for the development of their community and region. It will support the development of private enterprise.

The OH is for the quick implementation of a radical economic reform but it does not want to limit the basic changes in society to the economic dimensions. It is convinced that the state's interventions in the economy are to be limited to the minimum but at the same time the state cannot avoid responsibility for the functioning of the economy, especially in the present period of transition.

The OH believes the clear stating of the responsibility of communist representatives for the moral, economic and ecological devastation of the country is a necessary prerequisite for the political and moral recovery of society. Those who committed criminal acts must be put on trial, those who bear political responsibility must be tried morally. This must have a firm legal framework; the OH is opposed to the application of the principle of collective guilt, the programme says.

The OH will work for a stable plural society based on an open policy and democratic principles. It is commited to the federal setup of the state and will respect the identity of the Czech and Slovak nations. However, this should not prevent the development of the civic principle as the basis of the whole state.

The OH regards one economy, currency, legislation, foreign policy, environmental care and state defence as the necessary bases of the Czechoslovak federation.

Dienstbier Elected Chairman

LD2704222491 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister, has become chairman of the Republican Council of the Civic Movement. Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky and Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart were elected deputy chairmen. They were elected by the Republican Council at the end of the constitutent congress of Civic Movement.

Republics' State Treaty Unacceptable to Czechs

AU2604141291 Prague CTK in English 2011 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK)—The idea of a state treaty, based on the principles of international law, between the Czech and Slovak Republics is unacceptable to the Czech side, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said here today.

Havel was commenting on today's meeting with Czech politicians representing coalition forces on the federal level (Civic Movement-OH, Civic Democratic Party-ODS, and Civic Democratic Alliance-ODA), held to discuss preparations for new federal, Czech and Slovak constitutions. He held a similar meeting with Slovak representatives last week.

Havel said "the Czech side understands the need on the part of the Slovak nation and Slovak politicians to achieve something more than a mere declaration of coexistence, which would not be legally binding. The majority of Czech politicians are resolved to take a major step towards meeting Slovak demands half way". Havel added that a Czech proposal is being drawn up but has yet to be discussed. "The condition is that this act must be in accordance with Czechoslovakia's legal order and its constitution".

Continued Havel: "All who attended the meeting agree that we should live in a common federal state, but the concrete shape and an exact definition of the federation are being sought and we are also considering the process of drafting the federal constitution".

Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky said all Czech politicians accept Havel's idea to hold a meeting of federal, Czech and Slovak political representatives at Lany near Prague mid-May, which would deal with the drafting of the constitutions.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier (OH) said after the meeting that several proposals for a solution emerged but these would not be presented to the public before being considered by all sides. He said the wish for the existence of a legal step that would confirm the will of Czechs and Slovaks to live in a common state must be respected. He said to solve the questions surrounding the future state setup through a referendum was quite an extreme option.

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus (ODS) said a state treaty in the sense that a federation would be set up by uniting two independent republics was absolutely unacceptable to the Czech side.

Demonstrators Demand Halt to Nuclear Program

LD2704164791 Prague CTK in English 1541 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Temelin, South Bohemia, April 27 (CTK)—"An immediate halt to the Czechoslovak nuclear energy programme" was demanded by demonstrators at the building site of a new Czechoslovak power station at Temelin in South Bohemia today.

The demand was made in a letter which was addressed by the opponents of nuclear energy to the Czechoslovak authorities.

Participants included environmentalists from Czechoslovakia and Austria.

During a March from the town of Tyn nad Vltavou to Temelin the demonstrators unwound a ten-kilometre-long banner featuring slogans, children's drawings and other forms of protest.

Slovaks Protest Against Meciar's Dismissal

AU2604141591 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 24 (CTK)—Some 50,000 people assembled today in the center of the Slovak capital to protest yesterday's recall of Vladimir Meciar from the post of Slovak premier. The demonstrators also called for early parliamentary elections in Slovakia.

Participants in the demonstration, organized by Meciar's breakaway faction VPN For Democratic slovakia, expected Meciar to arrive to deliver a speech. However, he was unable to come for health reasons.

Slovakia's former Minister for External Relations Milan Knazko, one of the ministers recalled yesterday, cast doubt in his address to the crowd upon Slovakia's democratic institutions, saying they enabled a certain group of people to push through their political and personal interests to the detriment of society, the public and the voters. The current manipulations are reminiscent of the worst years of the totalitarian regime in the country, Knazko said.

Knazko criticized the Slovak National Council (parliament) Presidium for "not respecting the facts in reviewing the functioning of the Slovak Government" and the alignment of political forces in parliament. Referring to a statement by new Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky in the Slovak parliament today that "society is divided", Knazko said "it is not society but its political representatives who are divided. Society is united and 80 percent of people support [former] Premier Meciar and his government. We would be hard put to find such clear unity in society in our history".

"We are once again becoming the object of a sad experiment. Once again somebody wants to turn us into obedient puppets serving foreign interests", Knazko, who was an actor before the 1989 revolution, told the demonstrators.

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Demonstrations in support of former Slovak Premier Meciar were also held in a number of other Slovak cities today. Protests over his dismissal were voiced by some workers in Slovak enterprises. Several work teams called for early parliamentary elections in Slovakia and threatened to hold a general strike.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 25 April on page 2 in a similar report adds: "The pro-Meciar meeting organized by the VPN Platform for Democratic Slovakia received great support from the nationally oriented parties with personal participation of Vitazoslav Moric behind the scenes."]

VPN-ZDS Issues Statement on Meciar Dismissal

AU2804202391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Apr 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Standpoint of the Public Against Violence-For a Democratic Slovakia platform: Democracy in Crisis"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Organizing Committee of the Public Against Violence-For a Democratic Slovakia [VPN-ZDS] platform made available to CTK a statement, which states, among other things: "Today's events have shown that the nascent democracy in Slovakia has found itself in a crisis. The public has not been informed about the method applied by the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium in evaluating the government's work and SNR deputies did not have a chance to express by voting their view on the evaluation criteria used and on the outcome of the evaluation. The SNR Presidium's course of action was undemocratic because it has consigned deputies to the role of extras. Slovakia is threatened with apathy stemming from disappointment, just like in 1969." In conclusion, the VPN-ZDS Organizing Committee appeals to citizens and calls for the staging of rallies today at 1700.

Members of the VPN-ZDS Interparliamentary Club presented journalists with a statement in which they point out that the reasons cited by the SNR Presidium do not indicate the true reasons for the government's inability to function. The Presidium has usurped rights that belong to the legislative body as a whole in parliamentary democracies, in particular when the comprehensive examination of a government's activities is concerned.

VPN Presidium Statement on Government Reshuffle

AU2904111791 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 24 Apr 91 p 2

[Statement by the Presidium of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence Movement: "Confirmation of Principles"]

[Text] We respect the decision of the Slovak National Council Presidium, which we understand as a confirmation of the principles of parliamentary democracy and as endorsement of the economic reform.

We assume that the government will restore its ability to function and will devote itself fully to its mission—the implementation of its policy statement. The government is facing dozens of problems that it has started to tackle and that are waiting to be resolved. We are confident that, in cooperation with citizens, the government will make progress in their resolution and that it will contribute to good communication with Czech and federal partners and to improving the reputation and the position of Slovakia in the world.

Weiss Addresses Slovak National Council

LD2604095891 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1237 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Address by Petr Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, at the Slovak National Council session in Bratislava—live]

[Text] Esteemed Presidium of the Slovak National Council, esteemed government: Count [name indistinct], a famous French politician, when assessing a certain political decision, would say: It was worse than a crime; it was an error.

I think that this statement could be applied, to a certain extent, to the decision of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council about the way to deal with the problems that occured in the activity of the former government.

I do not see this error only in the fact that the Presidium chose a clearly nondemocratic method in dealing with the issues of the functioning of the government; this did not let the Slovak National Council deal with the government as it is authorized to do. According to the valid law of the Slovak National Council, it has the authority to, among other things, discuss the policy statement of the Government of the Slovak Republic, check on its activity and the activity of its members, and discuss confidence in the government. I see this error also in the fact that the Presidium represents a collective head of state, and people were justified to expect that at such a serious moment it would act in a way which would be above party memberships, outside narrow power interests, and in cooperation with the entire Plenum.

Please understand me, I do not throw doubt on the right of the Presidium to make a decision about personnel issues in the government. What bothers me is that our new democracy was not given a chance to prove itself. What happened was exactly the thing which I tried to warn against at the latest session of the Slovak National Council. A bad precedence was set for dealing with crisis-ridden situations, which obviously cannot be avoided in the process of creating a pluralist political system.

Public opinion, expressed in democratic ways, has been ignored, and now it is looking for new ways expressing itself. I, however, see the greatest and most substantial error as the fact that, by this decision, the possibilities were not expanded but rather narrowed for the creation of the much-needed consensus of not only the parliamentary political forces, but also of the citizens of the Slovak Republic in the interest of solving or coping with the complicated economic situation, a speedy adoption of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, and settling the issues of the new form of federative cooperation with the Czech Republic. The Presidium, as the collective head of the Slovak Republic, cannot pretend that it did not contribute to the crisis and to the polarization of the political forces and that it is only dealing with a crisis caused by someone else. As it is a body with great jurisdiction, it bears its part of responsibility for this crisis of governmental policy.

I do not want to add further arguments to those that have already been voiced here supporting the view that the Presidium was not always efficient. I, however, must repeat at least one thing: The problems the Presidium of the Slovak National Council made for itself are evoked by the fact that in the creation of our Presidium, normal procedures in parliamentary democracies, according to which the top bodies of parliament are composed on the basis of principle of proportional representation, were not observed. No one can accuse me personally, or our parliamentary club, of proposing the issue of reconstruction of the Slovak National Council Presidium for opportunistic reasons.

Sometimes I feel like the old Roman senator, Cato, who ended his every speech in the senate with a well-known statement about Carthage.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have a special opportunity today to show how much we appreciate democracy and to strive to get the Slovak legislature on the level of advanced European democracies. At the same time, we have a duty to find a democratic way out from the current crisis. I allow myself to express the view that without reconstruction of the Slovak National Council Presidium based on the principle of proportional representation, which would take into consideration the current composition of forces in this legislature, we will simply not be able to cope with the crisis, or, coping with the crisis will require means that will not be simple

Ladies and gentlemen, Jan Lajciak, a priest, wrote before World War I that the greatest misfortune of the Slovaks is that they are unable to come to an agreement about basic issues and quarrel about narrow group interests. It seems that it was not only the former Communist Party and the regime it created that suffered from this problem; the current political movements also inherited it. Therefore—on behalf of the left-wing opposition, both factions of Public Against Violence, and the movements and the parties of the hitherto coalition—I ask that you finally come to a more permanent decision, and in this way you will also create the conditions for a wide strata of the population to come to an agreement of lasting value. Then a broad social agreement could be concluded between individual strata of the citizens of this republic, and the costs of the reform would be spread proportionally. I ask you to help, due to the influence you have in this legislature, to create conditions which would enable all political parties to sit at the same table and search for ways out from this complicated and dramatic situation. We will have a chance to make right the political error I mentioned. We still have a chance to set up a government that will enjoy the popularity among the population. Let us all do our utmost for this. Thank you for your attention.

Slovak Situation Called 'Right-Wing Coup' Attempt

LD2704212891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] At a news conference following today's session of the Central Committee of the Democratic Left Party [SDL—formerly Communist Party], its chairman Peter Weiss described the current political situation in Slovakia as an attempt at a right-wing coup. The SDL's future intentions are to continue to promote constructive solutions, the principles of constitutionality, and censensus between parliamentary and nonparliamentary parties. At present, following initial reregistration, the SDL in Slovakia has 20,000 members.

Carnogursky Interviewed on SNR Session

LD2604104391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by unidentified reporter in Bratislava on 25 April—recorded]

[Excerpts] The 13th session of the Slovak National Council [SNR] continued into its second day today. We have been broadcasting a live relay today, so I am now going to ask my colleagues, Alica Bielikova and Magda Pospisilova, for a brief report. [passage omitted]

One speech that was awaited with interest was that of Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky. [passage omitted] Later, we asked Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky for an interview.

[Carnogursky] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] I have the feeling that the Slovak Government at the moment looks like a comb with some of its teeth missing. Can you tell us how the individual missing teeth of that comb should look?

[Carnogursky] Yes, the new teeth being made for that comb are very good ones. The ministries that are still not occupied are not occupied because a number of candidates are being considered for the individual posts. I would say that the maximum considerations are their qualifications, and the minimum ones are their political views. I would add that one deputy prime minster's post will not be filled. In other words, the number of deputy prime ministers will be narrowed down by one.

[Reporter] At the moment, there are four government posts vacant; if Messrs. Filkus and Kovac again tender their resignations, there will be six. Have you any specific ideas about who could be appointed to these posts? Will they be representatives of the coalition, or will you have recourse to the other parties?

[Carnogursky] We will have recourse to acknowledged specialists who need not be members of any party, for example, the hot favorite for the post of minister of the construction industry is not a member of any party, but is a very widely acknowledged specialist in the construction industry.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, yesterday's vote of no confidence in Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak by a majority of the SNR plenum has been described by some as your first setback as prime minister. Do you share that view?

[Carnogursky] Well, the fact is that we will miss Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak in the government for the reasons I outlined in my debate speech yesterday. Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak had an exceptional ability to maintain the fundamental economic reform policy, from which no one is diverging, and if there are differing views, then they differ rather on partial problems of economic reforms, but not on the overall policy. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Your speech today here in the SNR has been described by many as a typical lawyer's speech, but some say that you did not address the opposition. What is your view?

[Carnogursky] As for addressing or not addressing the opposition, I think that I was too easy on the opposition in my speech. [passage omitted]

Slovak National Council Recesses Until 29 Apr

LD2604131991 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Magda Pospisilova and Alica Bielikova are again going to report from the Slovak legislature:

[Pospisilova] Yes, there is a new situation in the Slovak National Council now. As the Public Against Violence Movement is having its congress in Kosice tomorrow, deputies from this movement will have meetings this afternoon to prepare themselves for this congress.

[Bielikova] This is why the deputies for the Public Against Violence Platform for Democratic Slovakia asked the plenum to interrupt the session. The Plenum approved by vote the interruption of the 13th Session of the Slovak National Council.

The 13th session of the Slovak National Council will continue on Monday [29 April] morning.

Right Wing To Initiate Dubcek's Dismissal

LD2604225191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] In Slovakia, it is concievable that Alexander Dubcek will be removed from his post. Evelin Forro reports on the details from Bratislava.

[Forro] According to my information coming from parliamentary sources, next week in the federal legislation, the right wing will initiate the dismissal of Alexander Dubcek from the post of chairman. The fact that finally convinced them of the need to sack Dubcek was that he supported the dismissed Meciar and he called the measure a mistaken step.

I asked Ivan Carnogursky, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council and brother of the head of government, about Dubcek's stand. He said that this is no wonder, since Dubcek was the leader of Obroda, which groups the reform communists of 1968. At the time, Meciar was also a communist, thus it is obvious that Dubcek expressed his solidarity with him.

I also asked a Social Democratic politican: why do they not even want to talk to the Coexistence Movement. He said that the fact of the matter is that there is no room for them in the government coalition. In the Slovak National Council, cooperation with the Slovak Christian Democrats is good with all three Magyar movements. However, the manifestations of Miklos Duray are too extreme and aggressive, and his statements disturb this legislative cooperation, said Ivan Carnogursky.

Miklos Duray said in reply that they do not want to join the coalition anyway—naturally this is not even the point. They wish to remain a constructive opposition in the future. However, their stance is more radical regarding minority issues.

Public Against Violence Assembly Held in Kosice

LD2704144691 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, has sent a telegram to the extraordinary republican assembly of the Public Against Violence [VPN], which is taking place in Kosice today. He told the delegates that, in the event the movement splits, he will give up his membership in the Slovak Council of VPN.

The problems that started accumulating in the movement following the last assembly in Topolcany were briefly reviewed by Slovak Council Chairman Fedor Gal. He said, among other things, that although the VPN Platform for Democratic Slovakia exists objectively, it still is not legally constituted and it has not defined its own program.

The proposal for a legally based division of VPN was delivered by Slovak Minister of Finance Michael Kovac. He analyzed in detail all the articles and paragraphs altering the current statutes of the movement on which the representatives of both streams agreed.

The division of property remains one of the arguable points. Peter Zajac, member of the Slovak Council of VPN, then said that the Platform for Democratic Slovakia, from today, is in constructive opposition.

Former Slovak Minister Knazko on VPN Congress

LD2704153991 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia, April 27 (CTK)—The Public Against Violence faction "for Democratic Slovakia" (VPN-ZDS) favours a radical economic reform but regard should be paid to certain specific features of the Slovak economy, VPN-ZDS leading representative Milan Knazko told CTK today.

Knazko, dismissed as Slovak external affairs minister last week, was speaking at a congress of the VPN in Kosice where the movement, the winner of the June 1990 parliamentary elections in Slovakia, is deciding upon its split and what form the division is to have.

"There is a barrier up to which people are willing to tolerate social pressures", Knazko said. He denied that ZDS leader Vladimir Meciar, Slovak premier until last week, has ever spoken about "softening of the reform".

Knazko described statements about ZDS's coexistence with communists as "sheer misinformation". "We wish primarily a democratic Slovakia, a radical economic reform and democratic mechanisms in society's development", Knazko said.

Public Against Violence Formally Splits

LD2704210991 Prague CTK in English 1939 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia, April 27 (CTK)—The Public Against Violence (VPN), the movement which won last year's parliamentary elections in Slovakia, split into two independent groupings at its extraordinary congress today.

Delegates to the congress voted unanimously for a final document which formalized the split as of today. It said that the two groupings will be called VPN and VPN-For Democratic Slovakia (VPN-ZDS). VPN-ZDS, led by former premier Vladimir Meciar, will register as an independent legal subject. They decided to divide their property on a 50-50 basis.

"There is no sense in people of such different views marching under one banner", VPN leader Fedor Gal told journalists during the congress.

After the decision today, the two groupings separated and each held its own session. The VPN-ZDS meeting declared itself the preparatory committee of the first congress of this grouping. It plans to hold the congress in Banska Bystrica, Central Slovakia, within a month.

VPN-ZDS spokesman Roman Zelenay told CTK that the platform regards itself as a liberal centre grouping. Commenting on earlier statements that VPN-ZDS will "enter into constructive opposition" Zelenay said this was not to mean it would enter into coalition with communists or the Slovak National Party. "If we vote for the same thing it does not necessarily mean that we are in coalition with them," he said.

The VPN is thus breaking apart completely, unlike its sister movement in the Czech Republic, the Civic Forum (OF), which continues to operate under one umbrella body although it has split into groups. The OF and the VPN ran in coalition in the June 1990 elections and now have an overall majority in parliament.

During the discussions today, Peter Zajac of the VPN Slovak Council said that the two groupings could not reach agreement on when elections should be held (regular elections are scheduled in Czechoslovakia for June 1992).

The Czech daily ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY wrote on Friday that a complete VPN split "could be the decisive step toward early elections ... Because the VPN has strong representation in the federal government and the Federal Assembly, it is hard to imagine that early elections could be limited to the territory of Slovakia".

MLADA FRONTA DNES warned today that the danger of early elections could "slow down economic changes, paralyse legislative bodies and disintegrate governments. Nothing is more important for the life of the country now than the economy".

Recent polls gave Meciar's VPN-ZDS a 30 percent voter support while Gal's VPN only 4 percent.

The VPN, which continued its congress without the VPN-ZDS faction, approved a document that says that it will carry on the work in the government coalition aimed at completing the process of a new constitutional setup and the economic transition to a market economy. "We need political and social stability for this, and therefore we espouse constutional and parliamenty methods", the document said.

It noted that both VPN and VPN-ZDS pledge support to the VPN program "A Chance for Slovakia" but ZDS wants to work for it in opposition to the government. The ZDS was not willing to sign a political accord which would reject early elections and non-parliamentary means of political work.

Jozef Kucerak, the leading protagonist of economic reform in the Slovak Republic, told the session that some VPN members want to create the scope for the formation ot a right-wing party which would work together with the original movement. Kucerak was voted out as Slovak deputy premier by the Slovak National Council (parliament) last Wednesday.

The VPN elected new members of the VPN Slovak Council, the movement's governing body, to replace Jan Budaj, Milan Knazko, Michal Kovac and Vladimir Meciar who as ZDS representatives were recalled from the Council, and Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, who had sent a letter that he would resign from his post on the Council if the VPN split. (Dubcek is paying a visit to Australia.)

Police Protect VPN Delegates After Congress

LD2704223691 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Delegates at the VPN [Public Against Violence] congress in Kosice approved a political resolution at its end. [passage omitted]

Hundreds of raging inhabitants of Kosice were waiting for the delegates outside the building. They were expressing their indignation at the policy of this movement. VPN representatives had to get into buses and cars and were accompanied by reinforced police patrols who were protecting them.

Carnogursky, Zantovsky on Meeting With Havel

LD2704174891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and Presidential Press Spokesman Michael Zantovsky by Stanislav Benda in Prague on 27 April—recorded; Carnogursky speaks in Slovak]

[Text] President Vaclav Havel had a meeting in Prague Castle today with newly appointed Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and Ivan Miklos, minister in charge of the Slovak Ministry for Administration and Privatization of National Property. After the meeting, Stanislav Benda recorded these interviews:

[Benda] This is Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky's second meeting with the president in the last 11 days, and I imagine that the change in your post, which you discussed today, was not the only difference?

[Carnogursky] I came to visit the president to brief him personally on the decision of the Slovak National

Council [SNR] Presidium on changes at the head and in other posts of the Slovak Government. I considered it more or less a constitutional duty in my new post. I also briefed him on the political situation in Slovakia, the new government's outlook, and also to some extent on its plans.

[Benda] Was it a purpose of today's meeting to reach any sort of joint conclusion?

[Carnogursky] No, no. It was first and foremost a visit for informational purposes.

[Benda] Thank you. And how did the president's press spokesman, Michael Zantovsky, assess today's meeting?

[Zantovsky] They discussed the new government's plans, the updated policy statement, which by a resolution of the SNR is to be presented by the new government on 14 May, or in any case during May. The president asked the prime minister and Minister Miklos about some details of the privatization process in Slovakia, the talks with the trade unions yesterday, and other such detailed matters. The general assessment from Mr. Carnogursky's words gave rise to the conviction that, in the current situation in Slovakia, this government is the only democratic alternative that can now lead Slovakia. According to our reports, the situation in Slovakia is becoming calmer; and at this moment, as you know, the Public Against Violence [VPN] congress is in progress. We expect they will probably reach an agreement on the legitimate division of VPN into two platforms; and we think that like yesterday's talks with the unions and other steps by the new prime minister, this too should help to calm the situation in Slovakia relatively quickly.

That was an interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky and the president's press spokesman, Michael Zantovsky. The new Slovak Prime Minister also had a meeting with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart.

Carnogursky on First Steps as Prime Minister

AU2804202091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Apr 91 p 3

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Jan Fuele in Bratislava on 23 April: "Slovakia: A Serious, Reliable, and Stable Partner"—first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Approximately 90 minutes after taking his ceremonial oath, newly appointed Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky received NARODNA OBRODA editors.

[Fuele] Mr. Prime Minister, just three weeks ago you gave odds of 51:49 in favor of your predecessor. When did they change against him?

[Carnogursky] At the end of last week. At that time it was already obvious that Vladimir Meciar was incapable of finding a way out of the crisis; this would have resulted in his victory. Under such circumstances, the only contemplation would have been a continuation of the crisis. Therefore, it was better to find another way out.

[Fuele] Prior to taking the oath, you held talks with the former prime minister. Could you tell us about them?

[Carnogursky] He briefed me on some of the problems connected with running the office and secretariat. We also discussed the problems that now await Slovakia; they are—first and foremost—adopting the new constitutions, protecting enterprises at risk, energy.... We parted in a proper manner.

[Fuele] Quite recently, many people regarded you as a kind of eminence grise on the Slovak and Czechoslovak political scene. Now you are faced with the task of making your stances clear. How do you intend to do this?

[Carnogursky] I think I was unfairly regarded as an eminence grise. If you make a retroactive comparison between what I said publicly and what I did, you will find no contradictions.

[Fuele] Perhaps this is a question everyone asks, but I will ask it anyway. People are tensely awaiting your first steps in your new post. What will they be?

[Carnogursky] Every new act begins by taking stock of the preceding one. I will have to familiarize myself—from the position of prime minister—with the government's previous activity, especially with those aspects I never came into contact with.

[Fuele] Shortly after you took the oath, people began assembling in Bratislava's streets. They are in front of the Slovak National Council [SNR] building, and it may be assumed that they will be there when the Slovak legislature's meeting begins. What will you say to the deputies, and how will you try to calm people?

[Carnogursky] The government's fundamental task is to guarantee calm in Slovakia and, at the same time, to present it abroad as a serious, reliable, and stable partner. I am not able at the moment to go into economic details, but I know that the issue for us is to introduce a macroeconomic balance in Slovakia. I will also say this to SNR deputies.

[Fuele] Mr. Prime Minister, the coalition is fragile, and its future shape is very uncertain. How do you visualize it?

[Carnogursky] We have an interest in the continuation of the current coalition and, of course, we are taking both Public Against Violence movement platforms into consideration. I do not yet know whether all partners will be willing to continue in the coalition; I have given them this option.

[Fuele] What if they are not interested?

[Carnogursky] The government will have to work without them. Even so, it should have a guaranteed majority in the SNR.

Democratic Party Considers Future in Coalition

AU2804202791 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Apr 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Will They Stay in the Coalition?; The Executive Committee of the Democratic Party Met"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Executive Committee of the Democratic Party met in Bratislava last night to adopt at an extraordinary session a decision of principle on whether or not the Democratic Party will stay in the government coalition. "The outcome of the session is such that the Democratic Party does not rule out the possibility of negotiations on the government, on the condition that the coalition talks will be acceptable to our party," Democratic Party Chairman Jan Holcik said. Democratic Party Central Secretary P. Missik did not rule out a coalition without the Democratic Party either: "Nothing is ruled out at this moment. We must know where we stand, and we therefore await the outcome of the coalition talks."

Slovak Government Coalition Parties Meet

LD2804215191 Prague CTK in English 1845 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 28 (CTK)—Representatives of the Slovak Government four coalition parties and groups met for informal talks behind closed doors here today.

A spokesman later told journalists that they discussed the composition of the government and new appointments following the dismissal of seven ministers and voting out of office of a deputy premier last week but no decisions will not be made until another session next week.

The participants included representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), the Public Against Violence (VPN), the Democratic Party (DS) and the Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI). The VPN Platform For Democratic Slovakia (ZDS) was not present.

Asked about the possibility of ZDS participation in the ruling coalition the spokesman said that the government coalition is willing to cooperate with all parties represented in parliament, including the ZDS of former premier Vladimir Meciar.

Three new ministers have been appointed and five government posts remain vacant after the reshuffle. Another two ministers resigned but their resignations were not accepted. The government had eighteen members before the reshuffle.

Pittner Comments on 24 Apr Events, Economy

LD2804205991 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1632 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Address by Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner in the studio in Bratislava; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The events of the last week, which in Slovakia concluded one phase of our post-November development, led the government to decide during its working session that I would address you tonight.

The attack on the Slovak Government building on Wednesday of last week [24 April] can be compared, regarding its goals, only to the attack on the Winter Palace, marking the beginning of the October Revolution. Throughout the world, citizens consider their legislative buildings to be something sacred, a symbol of their sovereignty and freedom. The fact that the attackers did not succeed in achieving what they wanted—they failed to get inside the building—is only thanks to the courage of young members of the police corps of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The events I am talking about were not accidental. Many things pointed toward the fact that there were forces there that wait only for a suitable opportunity to misuse it for their obvious goals. This time they used for their actions the dissatisfaction of our population with the course of economic reform in Slovakia, above all, the dismissal of the former prime minister [Meciar].

This danger was also pointed out by a number of articles in our press. It was described—in my view, not in the most appropriate form—also by an editor in chief of a certain student magazine. I saw it as inappropriate, above all because he was deceived by intentional disinformation, and in his article he attacked the police corps of the Slovak Republic that is still being formed. [passage omitted]

Dear citizens, the reconstructed [Slovak] government considers its primary task to be a speedy solution to the economic situation in Slovakia. The government considers it inevitable to speed up economic reform, catch up with all the missed opportunities. That is also why the second day after his appointment, Prime Minister Carnogursky and other ministers met representatives of trade unions and those enterprises that are most in danger to look for an acceptable solution. All ministers were asked to work speedily on updating the ministries' programs linked to the government program.

The Slovak National Council last week made decisions that not only solved the problem of the government crisis, but also showed once again that despite seemingly unsolvable disputes, it was also capable of finding the way out of the present situation. The citizens acquired certainty that parliamentary democracy is working and is the best solution to our problems. I hope that tomorrow, after a break in its session, the Slovak

National Council will also approve the bill on the police corps of the Slovak Republic. Our citizens and police will then be given a new legal norm regarding the police service.

Last week there was a storm above Slovakia, but the sky has now cleared. We again know who is who. [passage omitted]

Long live the free and sovereign Slovak Republic! Long live and blossom in mutual accord the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic!

Inspection Mission of Slovak Nuclear Plant Ends

LD2604203191 Prague CTK in English 1958 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 26 (CTK)—A group of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) experts ended today their three-week inspection in the nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia.

The team, which studied the operation safety, included experts from Finland, France, Germany, Japan, Spain, Switzerland, Great Britain, the U.S., Czechoslovakia and six IAEA officials.

Claudio Almeida, head of the team which controlled the plant's V-1 unit, told CTK that the commission found out that significant improvements have been made compared with the original Soviet project of the reactor. Nevertheless, there are still some deficiencies resulting from Soviet norms which were valid earlier, he said.

On the basis of the study, members of the mission recommended some further improvements on the V-1 unit, e.g. installation of additional safety alarm systems.

The mission at Jaslovske Bohunice was part of an IAEA programme in the framework of which international teams of experts will also control the operation safety of nuclear power plants in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Spokesman on Economic Performance, Romanian Ties

LD2604132191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Report on government press briefing by Gabor Bankuti]

[Text] The economic forecasts have been accurate; they need no modification. Last year the Hungarian economy had significant successes, though some heavy prices had to be paid for this. This could be a condensed summary of the analysis which the finance minister presented at yesterday's cabinet meeting.

(Gusztav Bager), head of department at the ministry, also provided details at the government spokesman's press briefing. He listed among the successes that the number of econmic units has doubled, the number of limited liability companies [KFT's] with low starting capital has quadrupled; 60 percent of the companies employ less than 20 people.

In addition to the trade balance, the convertible balance of payment closed with a surplus of $130 million and the budget deficit was less than 1.5 billion forints. The price of this, however, was that real GNP fell by 4-5 percent; consumption by about 3-4 percent; purchases by about 11 percent compared to a year ago. Demand by companies fell by almost 8 percent, most of this in the form of investments. The drought and the changes in energy sources resulted in $600 million losses.

Trade in rubles fell by a quarter not only because the partners could not pay but because their demands were reduced.

The analysis by the finance minister set out three tasks for the government. Everything possible must be done to increase exports. Possibly, even support must be provided, but not for those companies that are in the greatest difficulties because of the market changes, but to those which are able to develop fastest.

Trade with the East could fall to half or even to a third. The adaptability of the Hungarian economy can absorb this, but economic diplomacy must also be applied to keep the fall back as small as possible.

According to the finance minister's analysis, the encouragement of enterprises must be speeded up and urgent solutions must be found for handling the rapidly increasing unemployment. A social safety network must be established.

We learned that Hungary's gross debts are now $21.269 billion. Deducting the outstanding payments due to us, the net debt is just over $14.5 billion.

To my question about what inflationary effects the compensation law will have, Gusztav Bager, head of department at the Finance Ministry, replied that exact calculations are being made at present, but it is a fact that this effect will be drawn out and can be handled because the establishment of private farming units and the regrouping of the labour force freed from the agricultural sector have a quite opposite, inflation reducing effect.

Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo also confirmed to Midday Chronicle that during his London meeting Jozsef Antall had indeed agreed with Iliescu that the unnatural tensions in relations between the two countries must be overcome, as the Romanian president said during his press briefing.

Concerning the possibility of a summit meeting, according to the prime minister this requires specific preparatory steps, for example, the opening the Cluj Hungarian consulate. In Hungarian-Romanian relations the worst thing would be a summit without results.

Government Examines Compensation Law, Economy

LD2504210491 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (MTI)—The compensation law is of crucial importance from the point of view of property relations in Hungary. It has eliminated the possibility of reprivatisation once and for all, and put an end to the confusion surrounding property rights, which is expected to strengthen the confidence of foreign investors, said Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at the Thursday [25 April] session of the government. MTI's correspondent was briefed on the session, which continued into the evening, by spokesman Balazs Laszlo.

With regard to the compensation law, Antall said it was also a contribution to political stability within the country, and to better co-operation by the coalition partners. The parliamentary debate and voting on the bill proved once again that the government coalition was stable, keeping its majority of around 60 per cent. On the other hand, the firm opposition to the coalition in the legislature was also apparent.

In his report on last year's trends in monetary policy, Imre Tarafas, vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary, emphasized that the results attained had been better than expected, with the hard-currency balance of payments showing a surplus. Nevertheless, it was a bad sign that the rouble account was also in the black, and inflation exceeding its projected rate.

On analysing the monetary processes this year, Imre Tarafas pointed out that, as a result of the strengthening of the dollar, Hungary's state debt had dropped by hundreds of millions in terms of dollars since last February. He said that in the first quarter of the year the drawing of state and bank credits had gone according to schedule. The hard-currency reserves have doubled since the government came into office.

Over the first three months of the year, the hard-currency balance of payments shows a surplus of 100 million dollars, according to preliminary calculations, he said.

In his report, Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa said that the economic processes in 1990 on the whole went normally, with the government committing no serious mistakes. He said that Hungary had retained its relative advantage over other countries of the region with regard to trade with the Soviet Union.

Ministry Official on Compensation Law Impact

LD2504230191 Budapest MTI in English 1603 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 25 (MTI)—The Hungarian Ministry of Finance has not yet assessed the effects of the compensation law on the state debt and on inflation.

Deputy State Secretary at the Ministry of Finance Jozsef Thuma said that it seems certain that the government will be able to pay back 100,000 million forints less of the state debt, because state property of about that value will pass into private ownership through the compensation certificates.

The state debt currently stands at 1,300 million forints which the government plans to reduce using the income from privatization. All of the income from the privatization of state property will go to finance the state debt, not the budget deficit.

The administration of compensation alone, involving the establishment of new compensation offices, the printing of compensation certificates and expanding the staffs of land registries, is expected to involve an extra budget expenditure of several hundred million forints this year and next.

Bankers are at a loss to predict what effect the compensation certificates (CC) will have on credit arrangements. Under the compensation law, the CCs will be accepted as collateral security from applicants for existence and privatizataion loans. If this results in less cash being deposited to secure loans and thus being spent it is likely that inflation will rise.

A more serious trigger of inflation is reckoned to be the secondary trade in CCs. Personal savings are likely to be withdrawn in order to purchase CCs but the sellers are less likely to return all the money to bank accounts, preferring to spend it, thus substantially boosting individual consumption.

Domestic savings deposits currently amount to 1,000,000 million forints. It is estimated that if 20,000 million forints deposits were converted into consumption, inflation would grow by an annual 2 per cent, and if 50,000 million forints are used for consumption, inflation could rise by 5 per cent.

Government Plans To Privatize Commerce, Services

AU2804165891 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 91 p 9

["H.Z.M."-signed report: "Commerce and Services: The Magic Word Is Privatization"]

[Text] Our government's strategy is based on the principle that a developed internal market and a modern commercial infrastructure are the prerequisites for competition to become a substantial factor in the economy. Increasing the number of participants in the market and spreading the modern forms, techniques, and norms of organizing trade are the main governmental tools to achieve this. The pre-privatization program is expected to be completed by the middle of 1992. The task is to help create the modern forms for the cooperation of small businesses.

Maintaining predominantly state-owned commercial enterprises is only justified within narrow limits (strategic products, and temporarily, coal distribution). For this reason, privatization programs that embrace certain sectors will be launched within this year beside those initiated by companies and enterpreneurs. The cooperative sector, which represents a considerable proportion, will continue to develop in the direction of private enterprises. Parallel to this, there is a need to transform the commercial structure in many lines which were based on apportionment. The restructuring of trade in cars and spare parts, as well as the food trade in Budapest is already in progress on the basis of the concepts drawn up. Similar programs are being worked out for the fuel and building material trade, and for all food trade, too. The independence efforts of various units of wholesale companies will gain their own ground, and the moves to set up enterprises with many branches will be supported. A normative requirement system will replace the various licensing procedures, which will ensure equal opportunities in the market.

As far as raising capital is concerned, investors with long-term development interests will be given preference over investments of risk capital. The commercial developments connected to the world exhibition are also based on working capital imports.

The service industries consist of more than 150 professions. Because of its nature, services are dominated by the private sector (70 percent). However, the lack of sound demand hinders the establishment of real market conditions. Apart from continuing privatization, the aim of the government strategy is to make family and small enterprises attractive by easing conditions, and by integrating the interests of self-governing bodies. It will be possible to reduce migration from this industry, which employs around 300,000 people at the moment, by planning the burden of taxes and social security in advance, and by simplifying bureaucracy. Enlivening the

service sector is also being promoted because of employment reasons. The reason for this is that the poorly serviced areas and the areas with industries in crisis overlap each other.

Balance of Payments Better Than Expected

AU2904091991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Apr 91 p 8

[Interview with Finance Ministry State Secretary Peter Kiraly by Ferenc Lagmar; place and date not given: "Will the Reform of State Finances Be Delayed?—Less Chance for Inflation To Explode"— first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] The Parliament is obliging the government to give a quarterly accounting of the budget, and also made this accounting a condition for the government to use funds from the central reserve. Thus the Ministry of Finance, contrary to its previous practice, was forced to publish the major, combined details of the quarterly budget. We asked Peter Kiraly about the main factors affecting the budget.

[Kiraly] The conditions that we thought would determine the 1991 budget have changed, but the basic premise has not, which is that this year is the most critical year of our economy. The price of oil falling below the level expected on the eve of the war is favorable for us. The greater than expected fall in the volume of Soviet trade is a negative factor. Nevertheless, even this has a positive aspect, namely that we had virtually no losses in terms of trade because of the low level of trade. The orientation toward export has increased, and the change of markets is in progress. Naturally, various cross influences have also affected the data because of expectations to devalue the forint, and for other reasons. The balance of payments for the first quarter was favorable, and an explosion of inflation is far less likely today than at the end of 1990. Although some large price increases are still to come, as in the case of medicines and domestic energy, the level of the increase will be less than planned.

[Lagmar] This is good news for the public, but it also increases the demand for subsidies in today's conditions.

[Kiraly] This has two components. Because of the drop in world market prices, producers will not need to raise their prices, thus the consumer price increase may be lower, too. The delay in the price increase, and the partial keeping of the subsidy for district heating will add to the demand for subsidies. Still, this could only mean 2 or 3 billion forints extra budgetary expenditure. It will not burst the budget.

To understand the quarterly figures we need to know the seasonal effects, that always distort the percentages. I also include the events at the end of 1990 here, because figures have a tendency to creep up and down, and some items take great leaps from one month to the other, especially at the end of a financial year.

The accounting system of our budget is perfectly clear in the sense that income and expenditure that occurred in a particular year has to be reckoned up....

[Lagmar] ....that is, the budget is based on fiscal principles.

[Kiraly] Yes, it is. Profit tax and the dividends from state property had the greatest leap. Companies gave exceedingly pessimistic reports about their profit expectations throughout 1990, and their monthly payments were very low in respect to both aforementioned items. The much lower than expected budget deficit was due to the huge payments after 10 December 1990. Unfortunately, this was unfounded, and the companies reclaimed 14 or 15 billion forints of profit tax and dividends at the beginning of 1991. Out of this, the share of profit tax was more than 10 billion forints. The treasury has returned this amount in the first quarter of 1991.

[Lagmar] The same happened two years ago....

[Kiraly] ....we examined this, and found that it is a periodical phenomenon that recurs biannually. [passage omitted]

[Lagmar] It was already mentioned two years ago that the end-of-the-year overpayments were manipulated, because they improved the condition of the budget for public consumption, as they say, the presentability of the budget.

[Kiraly] No, they were not manipulated. The above mentioned phenomenon has psychological reasons. Companies paid too much tax at the end of 1990, therefore, they will probably be more cautious now, and underestimate the amount. The rules of taxation are set by laws this year, so there is definitely no chance for manipulation. [passage omitted]

[Lagmar] The law on state finance is being delayed just as in the days of former ministers.

[Kiraly] We are not yet united in the question whether the law on state finance should be drawn up at the beginning or at the end of our period of transformation. Formerly, we thought the legislation on state finance would provide the framework to establish the authority of parliament, government, ministry, and other publicly financed institutions. Based on that, the administration of public finance can be modified through the annual budgets. However, the legislation could not be enacted at the end of 1990, partly because of the inability of parliament to deal with so many matters. For this reason, we included the most important questions of procedure and authority in the budget law. Therefore, a new approach came to the forefront, namely that we should deal with the state finance through the annual budgets and, at the end of the process, in approximately three years, we should legislate directly on the state finance itself. There is another, practical reason to do this. It would be very hard to legislate on this subject without

the laws on the various professions—for example health, or education—clarify the boundaries of the role of the state. [passage omitted]

Socialists Criticize Government's Economic Policy

LD2704210191 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 27 (MTI)—In its Budapest forum, the presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) sharply criticised the government's economic policy.

In his contribution, Rezso Nyers emphasized that over the past year the government focussed its efforts on transforming the political power relations. In Nyers' view, the improvements in the balance of payments, the increase in exports and the rechannelling of some parts of Eastern exports to the Western markets could only be attributed to temporary factors. At the same time, the government failed to take any measure laying the foundation of the future, Nyers said.

The majority of those present agreed on the necessity of elaborating a crisis-handling programme which would include the HSP's long-ternm goals as well. The HSP shares the view that the Constitutional Court should revise the compensation law. The Socialists argue that the inflationary effects of the law could be decreased and the cooperative farms protected by amending some paragraphs of the law.

Smallholders Party Officials Cited on Policy

LD2804220191 Budapest MTI in English 1557 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 28 (MTI)—In its April 27 session, the National Board of the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) issued a statement, obliging the party leaders to revise the coalition agreements, i.e. clarify and expand the party's scope of action within the coalition, settle the problems that have emerged in some ministries, and specify for which sectors the ISP assumes political responsibility and under what terms. The national board authorized the party leadership to amend the coalition agreements accordingly.

The programme of Jozsef Torgyan, the new co-president, specifies similar goals. Torgyan has in mind to reform the party and its organizational frames, and strengthen its role within the coalition, and the major ministries and organizations. Torgyan said he would soon initiate the convocation of another board session to discuss some debated issues concerning the party's financial management.

In his first interview as co-president, Torgyan suggested that he considered himself the number one leader of the ISP. He said, however, he will have to clarify with the other co-president how to divide labour. Torgyan said the party had not split since the had always been supported by the overwhelming majority of members.

Torgyan repeated his former proposal for recalling the ISP ministers and state secretaries from the government by May 31 so that the forms of partnership within the coalition could be renegotiated. "It is not a coalition if one of the partners does not have any say in political and economic decision-making and legislation and only 'pushes the button,'" Torgyan said.

Miklos Omolnar, deputy general secretary, told the Hungarian radio that the party constitution had been amended under coup-like circumstances, after President Ferenc Jozsef Nagy and General Secretary Sandor Olah had left the hall. The party's leadership has not yet taken a stand on the introduction of the new co-presidential post and Torgyan's election, Omolnar said. In his view, the party's final stand will be formulated in the April 29 session of the ISP parliamentary group. (Some weeks ago, some members of the group initiated a vote of no-confidence against Torgyan, who was then relieved of his post as head of the parliamentary group.)

Gorbachev Writes Antall on Bilateral Agreement

LD2704153191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a letter to Jozsef Antall. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy handed over the letter to the Hungarian prime minister. Gorbachev has confirmed that he is expecting Jozsef Antall's earliest possible visit to Moscow to sign the new bilateral agreement. In the letter the Soviet president states his viewpoint on the agreement, on the financial questions connected with the troop withdrawal and on economic and trade relations.

Regarding the agreement of the two countries, Tamas Katona, state secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated today that if the Hungarian endeavors did not fully prevail, the government would not sign the document.

In recent weeks it came to light that the Soviets might include a clause in the agreement that would prevent Hungary from joining certain military or political organizations.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Comments on Talks

LD2704202591 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall today received Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, Soviet deputy foreign minister, who has come to Budapest for discussions connected with the Hungarian-Soviet basic agreement. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Kvitsinskiy, to my knowledge you held discussions today with David Meiszter, deputy state secretary at the Foreign Ministry. What was the topic of the conversation, and what was its outcome?

[Kvitsinskiy, in Russian, fading into Hungarian translation] Today we held discussions with Mr. David Meiszter regarding the drafting of the new Soviet-Hungarian agreement. This was the third time we sat down at the negotiating table. Our work is extremely great and responsible, especially if we take into consideration the fact that this new interstate agreement will shape the new form of relations. At the same time it must also reflect the changes that have taken place in Europe. This agreement represents the start and at the same time gives an impetus to a new phase of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary.

I have to say that the decisive part of the agreement has already been worked out. However, some issues do remain that have still not been coordinated, in the field of political and security cooperation. Judging by the present round of discussions, the conclusion of this part still requires a certain amount of time, since this is a key issue of the agreement's conclusion. There are other issues still outstanding in connection with the initialling and signing of the agreement, for example, regarding the visit of Mr. Jeszenszky and Mr. Antall.

I would like to stress that the Hungarian leadership and the prime minister personally are devoting a great deal of attention to these issues and also to the agreement itself. I hope that in a short time an agreement will take place, though I would not like to make a prediction for the time being. I do not know how much time we need: one week, two weeks, or six months. Total agreement was shown on both sides in that we have to concliude a good interstate agreement. We have time. On both sides there is a demonstrated intention to continue the work, and we would very much like to achieve positive results. On both sides we are interested in this. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Official on Talks With Soviets

LD2804134191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0625 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Interview with David Meiszter, Foreign Ministry deputy secretary, by unidentified reporter in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] David Meiszter, deputy state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, is here in our studio. Was there a breakthrough yesterday at the talks?

[Meiszter] I would not call what happened yesterday a breakthrough. We are in the middle of a negotiation process. I have already had two proper conferences with my partner, I have already had two proper conferences with my partner, this was the third one.

[Reporter] I understood from the earlier prognosis by the foreign affairs spokesman that these talks should have finished by now, the text of the agreement should be ready, but it is still not done. What is the reason for this?

[Meiszter] I do not know how anybody can put a time limit on such negotiations. This is a most serious negotiation. [passage omitted] We already have prepared a large part of this agreement, about 80-85 percent of it is ready. This means that we have a coordinated text, which, both in its words and in its spirit, corresponds to the new European realities, the new European requirement. However, open questions remain, on which we could not find the text that would suit us both and would also correspond to this new spirit. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The Soviet Union has already signed the basic agreement with Romania. However, she is still in negotiation with her former military allies, such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and us. Obviously, the Romanian agreement was considered a precedent. Is it possible to say, however, that the Budapest-Prague-Warsaw triangle would have roughly the same stand?

[Meiszter] First of all, I do not know whether the Soviet party considered the Romanian agreement a precedent or not. All the more because my negotiating partner, Mr. Kvitsinskiy, wrote an article, if I remember correctly, in PRAVDA, in which he said that these countries all have their own special profile. Naturally, I look at Hungary the same way, and at the other neighboring countries, too; therefore I do not think that anything can have the character of precedent here. Every country has its own profile, its own interests, and, therefore, agreement has to be made with everybody according to this.

[Reporter] Are the Czechoslovak, Polish, and Hungarian stands similar on this question?

[Meiszter] As far as I know, we think the same way about many basic questions.

[Reporter] Did you agree with Mr. Kvitsinskiy on a date to continue the negotiations?

[Meiszter] We have not agreed on a firm date. However, it was not customary to do so in the earlier stages of the negotiations, either. We talked in an open spirit, and we both see that this is not a simple matter, to put a text to this security partnership. We agreed that we will keep thinking of what of what type of formula can be found, and if one of us feels able to come up with an appropriate formula, they will indicate this to the other party.

[Reporter] Thank you.

Antigovernmental Demonstration in Bucharest Ends

AU2704174091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/4/1991—A protest meeting was staged in the Revolution Square in Bucharest on Saturday by the "FIDES" federation. The federation includes the free trade unions in education, health care and culture. The demonstrators were addressed by the leaders of these trade unions teaching staff, physicians, pharmacists, as well as representatives of museum and library staff.

The opening address was delivered by Catalin Croitoru, leader of the trade union in pre-university education, who welcomed the delegates come from almost all over the country.

The problem of salaries, the difficult conditions in which the educational process proceeds, the absence of an adequate legislative framework, the precarious material status of learning units, the inopportune character of the bills worked out, the poor equipment of hospitals, the very low budget allotted to education and health care were the main issues which the speakers tackled. The demonstrators asked for the dismissal of the ministers of education and health and of the whole administrative apparatus in those ministries, whom they held responsible for lack of professionalism and abuses.

Round 13:00 hours, local time, the demonstrators in Revolution Square were joined by the participants in a protest march staged by the "15 Noiembrie" [November] Association of Brasov. At 14:40 [1140 GMT] the meeting ended. The "FIDES" federation is to work out a document to be submitted to the Romanian president and Government which will spell out the conclusions on the situation in education and health care.

Anti-governmental, anti-presidential and pro-monarchy slogans were chanted and a general strike was called in case the government failed to take the necessary steps at once.

The meeting proceeded in a civilized atmosphere.

The protest march staged by the "15 Noiembrie 1987" Association of Brasov, the "15 Noiembrie" Movement of Brasov and the "21 Decembrie" [December] Association ended in the Revolution Square in the Romanian capital city round 15:00 hours, local time [1200 GMT]. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Civic Alliance, too. Part of the citizens come from Brasov and a number of Bucharesters formed a picket round the Senate headquarters saying it would stay there until the leaders of the Romanian radio and television resigned.

Mitterrand Addresses Romanian Parliament

AU2704162691 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 20 Apr pp 1, 4

[Speech by French President Francois Mitterrand to the joint session of the Romanian Parliament's two chambers; in Bucharest on 19 April: "The French President in the Romanian Parliament 'There Is a European Genius'"]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen: We decided to visit a foreign parliament this morning and, as usual, to recall the time when I myself was deputy and senator of the French Republic for almost 35 years. French customs and traditions that go back to the time of Napoleon Bonaparte at the end of the 18th century—with the sad remembrance of a state coup in the parliament—have it that the president of the French Republic has no access to the parliament meetings. I want to repeat that this is a custom, and I can have access elsewhere.

I was told that this is the first visit of a Western head of state to Romania. I want to mention that it is the first visit since December 1989. Thus, I feel flattered that I was invited by you to address the representatives of the Romanian people. I view this as an honor. At the same time, this is a rare occasion for me to address the whole Romanian people through you. I can easily imagine the multitude of your tasks because you are now at the beginning of new times after such a long period in which it was impossible to imagine a state of law. You have to draft a constitution that will address all essential points that are absolutely necessary for the establishment of democracy. The criteria are easy to define. The people have their say on the basis of a universal right to vote. They elect and have to elect their representatives freely. Relations between the executive and legislative power, as well as with the judicial power, have a permanent tradition in all the democracies we know. What is the exact relationship between the head of the executive and the head of state when the latter is not the head of the executive as well? There are multiple variants on this point depending on the historic model you are interested in. You will vote on laws that will decide your future. You have to change the structures of your economy and this cannot be the easiest thing to do. There are various ways of thinking and of acting. Only in this case no law is able to decide. This is a cultural phenomenon and it is your task to see to it that the Romanian people are aware that they are heading for a point of balance as regards various regions of Romania, social and professional strata, cultural options, intellectual values, urban and rural interests, and the totality of social protection, from children to old-age people and those who are usually excluded by society, that is the poorest, the handicapped. Here is a very big job.

However, I have not come here to teach lessons, and I do not have this right. Each political experience corresponds to a certain stage of history and your history is not identical to our history. You are masters of your

options. But there surely are some universal orientations and there are principles of the universal law which are valid for all citizens of the world, even if these principles are not recognized by all people.

In any case, we know what lack of freedom means. We cannot be wrong when it comes to a totalitarian regime. Freedoms were expressed more than two centuries ago beginning with France—and we know them by heart—especially when we do not have them.

During the 19th century and the 20th century, beginning with the establishment of an industrial society, one had to take into consideration the fact that individual freedoms, characteristic of each individual, were not enough and that a social law had to be established to protect organizations and groups in the great conflicts of interests that exist in any human society. I believe that you will find the necessary means, the intellectual and cultural force in many great examples of your history, which does not run short of examples. The repeated assertion of your independence, the repeated necessary national resistance, historic liberations that have also been repeated, as well as the resistance against oppression, repeated as well—all these are aspects of a substance that should characterize, from now on, the efforts and pursuits of the Romanian people. I do not forget what this double resistance means when facing both an outside enemy and an absolute power at home. A French writer and philosopher, who through his writings was the mentor of many generations at the beginning and middle of this century wrote: "To think means to say no." But we should not exaggerate this. However, it indicates a certain tendency toward the assertion of one's own pride, to refuse to accept conformism or an illegitimate power. I think that the Romanians never stopped thinking that many of them have practiced the Dadaist formula. If to think means to say no, then we hope that the moment will come—or maybe it has already come—when to think means yes.

During my visit, I have had the opportunity to meet the authorities of your country, representatives of the parliamentary opposition, and one can say that I met with intellectuals, although I must confess that I personally have always considered this distinction somewhat strange. For example, one can be a parliament member and an intellectual at the same time. However, we can be intellectuals without always being parliament members.

You do not view current events in the same way. Anyway, that would be abnormal and disquieting. But on the other hand, we do not have to establish as a rule that we are duty bound to always think differently from others. As you see, the road is by no means a straight one. To find our orientation, we have to be firmly centered on certain principles, namely a law-governed state and democracy as defined everywhere when I have the opportunity to hear such definitions, including last evening's speech at the dinner given by the president of the republic. These are the principles to which we refer but they are never and by no one integrally applied. I am talking of constant steps, constant efforts, and an obsessive control. Thus, each individual is divided within himself and each society is divided as well. Institutional success means the approach of each citizen to the state in which he can find himself by rediscovering the fundamental principles. I know that considerable effort has been made regarding freedoms, which have been established; the educational system, which is being changed; the changes in the penal code; the establishment of the disputed claims office; and the transfer of the prison administrations from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Justice. All these are aspects of a work that is being carried out each and every day. And if I look at the calendar I realize that you have not finished yet.

Believe me ladies and gentlemen, the sooner you finish your work the better—on one condition, that you leave time for reflection and for dialogue. You are the only ones to judge this aspect.

A few days ago, two of your newspapers asked for an interview, and thus I learned that there are 1,400 press publications in Romania. It seems that their tone is free indeed and quite lively, if not polemic. Ladies and gentlemen, believe you me, I personally am very accustomed to this, and eventually we will note that a sort of balance is achieved and that people do not let themselves be guided as easily as one would think, because there is an instinctive sense of history even in the mind of the most simple and the poorest man and in the mind of the least informed man.

We have to depend on the virtues of the nation, because without them neither you nor we will be able to do anything, neither here nor anywhere else. Since I have noticed that a certain orientation has been established, this permitted me to come to see you. You will understand my great regret that for nine years I had to decline the invitations that were addressed to me. I say this in order to exclude any confusion.

I can very easily imagine your material difficulties and, true, everything depends on the economy. After such an inadequate system, enormous tasks devolve to you to reestablish balance, to restir initiatives, and to reestablish relations both at home and internationally, which will lead to enough prosperity to fulfill each individual's needs. This is a permanent task. Sometimes I question the things that are happening in my own country. This is why I followed with interest the implementation of your economic reform and the laws adopted in connection with trade and the opening for foreign investments. Now, you are entering the second stage of this difficult price liberalization. This started a few weeks ago.

Another important issue is the one concerning land ownership following so many years in which the system was fundamentally different. I assume that there are many Romanians who wish that things would happen more rapidly. It is true that we never succeed in moving quickly enough. But we should know that the road toward democracy depends not only on our wish, but

also on the knowledge of reality and the parallel evolution of mentalities. France, which two years ago celebrated the bicentennial of the declaration of human rights and of its revolution, has gone through many periods of evolution and steps backward and has known long periods of totalitarianism. Here, on behalf of the French people I am telling you about an experience. In the same way I can measure the courage and the intelligence of the Romanian people to maintain the considerable results achieved in the past 18 months and to forcefully continue in this direction.

I was told that you will return to the polls. Sooner or later we all return to the polls—in a democracy I mean. However, your mission is clear. I suppose that you are animated by a certain feeling of pride for being the ones who carry out this immense task which consists of establishing the bases of democracy and bases of the future. I wish you much success!

Last night, I told President Iliescu that my country wishes to help as often as you think necessary. Certainly, we do not have all that we would like to offer you but we can work in this direction. I believe that we responded to you in the first days, even the first hours in December 1989, and since then we have continued to respond to Romania's appeals. There were acts of cooperation that started earlier. We, the French proposed to re-establish an evident fact. One thing is obvious: that Romania is in Europe and by no means anywhere else. It is a truth as simple as the truth about Columbus' egg [Saint Columbus, upon being told that it was impossible to stand an egg on end, did so by crushing one end]. But it is a truth that must be constantly repeated. You contributed much to Europe both in the past and present—and especially you gave much to France. I could say that you granted a privilege to France, something that I realize now, as I address you. Even from the beginning of the century, the cultural food of my own youth reminds me of Tristan Tzara and his suprarealism; of Brancusi, who inspired and got inspiration from the wooden sculptures of Oltenia— Brancusi was at the origin of great currents in the modern sculpture—Ionesco, who changed in France the way of approaching theater; and Mircea Eliade, with his history of religions. I read Ana Brincoveanu's works and Ionescu and Cioran came to us. Apart from them, there are other celebrities like Celibidache, Radu Lupu, and Ileana Cotrubas. Do people know that Romanian mathematicians and physicians, in spite of the many years of isolation, are listed among the best in the world? All these things are part of our common civilization, which has deep roots. Everybody knows that. However, this tradition must be kept alive. We are part of the same continent and the same civilization and we must share the same future. We must search for, beyond differences of identity, forms of expression which are sufficiently real to be common, and thus make Europe take shape because the Europe I am referring to, the Europe to which we belong, the Europe of the Community of the 12 with 340 million inhabitants, the first commercial power in the world, could become—and we are doing all we can in this respect—a great technical and economic power which does not lack culture either. Well, this Europe is not made out of only great amounts of steel or tonnes of butter. There is also a certain genius which we are all share.

A contemporary writer said that this European genius was born from diversity, antagonisms, and complementarianism. I think that you do not lack these. What kind of Europe do we want to establish? First of all we wanted to establish a Europe of security, starting with the Helsinki Final Act. The documents adopted within the CSCE meeting and the Paris Charter all date since last year. I remember that I chaired an event there—in our capital city—and that was the most surprising meeting of modern times, after two world wars which devastated Europe and after the economic, political, social, cultural, and I do not know what other kind of separation that was established when Europe had been split into two. Well, all of us were there; 34 countries, of which 32 were from Europe. Former enemies who pledged no longer to fight each other and tried to dissolve their security treaties, and maintain no more than one. There I met all the leaders of present-day Europe. Is that right Mr. President? Those were unforgettable times. Is it sufficiently well known in Romania and in the rest of Europe? Well. Within this framework, the issue of peace has to be solved as well problems which are by far more complicated: the issue of minorities, which should be guaranteed the right to identity. Without these rights, there is no democracy; however, by ensuring those rights one avoids the dismantlement of states and of the current frontiers, because that would risk upsetting everything again. I think that all these difficulties must be approached from the top and not from the bottom. These rights should be well defined in their entirety throughout Europe, so as to make each person feel good where he lives. Likewise, Europe means economic solidarity and programs that are part of the European community, to which you have started getting access.

From now on, the European Community and Romania will work together and should develop new relations. Very soon you will have to have a treaty of cooperation with the European Community. Therefore, after you have overcome certain difficult stages, we will probably be united within the same institutional framework. I know that joining the Community in the distant future would mean some insupportable constrictions. In a speech while addressing the French people, I mentioned the idea of a European Confederation in which all European countries should participate with equal rights and dignities, because there are certain countries which are poorer while others are richer, and this situation exists already within the community of the group of the twelve; however, each has the same rights and has the same right of veto and things do work. Thus, why should we not expand this concept throughout Europe in structures that are not meant to constrict since the states I am talking about are democratic countries? This idea of European Confederation will be discussed in June at the

initiative of President Vaclav Havel. We agreed on inviting to Prague women and men from all Europe, about 150 personalities from all areas, and among them there will certainly be Romanians as well, and they can come up with proposals. Each of them will be free to advance his suggestions. Let us just imagine what will happen in the next century, following us. I believe that this will be a Europe which will have joint institutions and which will organize regular meetings, and which will have permanent structures. On the other hand, we who will know each-other well, will learn to work together and thus solve every problem through international cooperation, because we will be certain that we work for a common goal.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are the number of issues that I wanted to talk to you about. Europe has a formidable reservoir of enthusiasm. This was the impression of a female writer, Julia Kristeva, a Bulgarian who is also French at the same time. The road on which you have embarked is irreversible. The road toward freedom and solidarity in Europe must be irreversible. Nobody should accept a return. The salvation of civilization is at stake.

This is the message of hope and confidence that I wanted to address you on behalf of France.

I said it at the beginning as well, I speak to all Romanians. My role is not to establish a certain distinction among them. I would be unable to do that. But I am here at the Parliament. Whom could I give my message first of all if not to you? How could I not make my wishes accompany Romania's demarches in fulfilling the role incumbent on it, both at home and as an element of Europe to which it belongs?

I have concluded. I want you to feel that in my speech—which could not have been short because such opportunities are rare—I wanted to express everything that I feel: the will, the hope, and the solidarity to overcome the difficulties of this century and to dress and cure the wounds made by the evil that destroyed so many values during this century. Therefore, to rebuild things and confidence in people in spite of all difficulties, to trust a state of law, we will have to work, to work, and to work ceaselessly. Until the last day of our lives we will not be able to stop and we will have to work constantly to safeguard freedom!

Long live Romania! Long live France!

ROMPRES Note: This text represents the stenogram of the translated speech that the French president delivered to the Parliament, heard through earphones.

'Text' of Declaration on 'New Order of Relations'

LD2604170191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The declaration [regulating relations in the Yugoslav community] proceeds from the assessment that the present SFRY constitutional system is in a crisis, that a new order of relations in the Yugoslav community is essential to overcome this crisis, that it is necessary to ensure a more prosperous economic and political development, as well as conditions for the further development of these reforms. The declaration also draws attention to different points of view on the future regulation of relations in the Yugoslav community, which is the subject of talks between federal authorities and the republics.

For this reason—having made the decision to jointly and democratically create conditions for agreement-seeking on the future regulation of relations in the Yugoslav community, and in accordance with their constitutional responsibilities and authority—the republican assemblies and the SFRY Assembly adopted a declaration on starting the process of establishing a new order of relations in the Yugoslav community.

The republican assemblies are also expected to adopt the declaration. [Sentence as received]

The text of the declaration reads:

Relations in the Yugoslav community will be regulated by agreement, in a peaceful, legal and democratic way, in an atmosphere of complete mutual recognition, respect, and trust by establishing universally-acceptable solutions.

Until the new relations in the Yugoslav community are regulated, and in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, the following will be consistently respected: the right of nations to pass democratic decisions on their own future; national identity; the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the SFRY and the republics; the inviolability of borders between the republics; the right of nations to self-determination; the principle of equality and volunteerism [dobrovoljnostl], and the autonomy of the provinces.

The SFRY Assembly and the republican assemblies are charged, until the new relations in the Yugoslav community are regulated, with ensuring that federal and republican services adhere to the existing SFRY Constitution and federal laws and—in keeping with their responsibilities and powers—ensuring the unhindered functioning of federal services, as well as the implementation of the vital functions of society.

The document, which will regulate the relations in the Yugoslav community, will authorize its services to carry out those functions that are in the interest of all the republics, Yugoslav nations, and nationalities and citizens, and which are both a prerequisite and a guarantee for the most successful development throughout the Yugoslav community.

Provisions will also be made so the entrusted functions be carried out efficiently and democratically.

In the process of establishing the functions to be carried out by common services, it will be important to recognize the following, in particular:

The duty to ensure the full protection of human rights and freedoms by universal and European standards and the rule of law;

The market economy's needs and requirements and its successful development to a higher degree, something that also implies that the freedom of enterprise and full economic independence and equality of economic subjects must be guaranteed in all of Yugoslavia;

The commitment to ensure that the country's international obligations continue to be effectively met, to protect its independence and territorial integrity, and to create the conditions for the most successful incorporation into European and other integrations and its most successful and equitable participation in economic, financial, and other business relations with foreign countries.

In the making of the document, which will again regulate relations in the Yugoslav community, all initiatives and all propositions submitted by constitutionally authorized services will be considered and treated on equal terms while their opinions and stances are harmonized.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber and the republics' assemblies will immediately organize the work on making documents that will again regulate relations in the Yugoslav community.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, elected on a multiparty basis, will endorse this draft document no later than two months after it has been constituted.

If one of the republics does not accept the document regulating relations in the Yugoslav community, the further procedure will be regulated by agreement together with the others.

This declaration is in effect from the day of its adoption in the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber.

National Poll on Country's Future

AU2704145191

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 18 April on pages 14 and 19 carries a 2,000-word report on the results of a public opinion poll on the "Referendum on Yugoslavia," entitled "Nothing Unexpected Will Happen."

The poll was jointly carried out by two independent market research teams, the Varianta of Ljubljana and the Takt of Belgrade, between 14 and 16 April.

According to the report, the two teams interviewed "1,234 people who were randomly selected from the telephone directory of Yugoslavia. The number of respondents according to the republics is as follows: Slovenia 199; Bosnia-Hercegovina 173; Montenegro 205; Croatia 205; Serbia 236; and Macedonia 216. Regarding Serbia, the poll was conducted throughout the republic, including Vojvodina. Unfortunately, out of all those contacted in Kosovo, only one citizen agreed to be interviewed (saying that he would not vote in the referendum)."

The results of the question concerning the future structure of Yugoslavia are as follows:

Table 1. "If a referendum were to be held tomorrow, would you vote for...?" (table heading) (a pie chart with figures in percentages)

Slovenia:	
1. A union of sovereign states	34.7
2. Yugoslavia as a modern federal state	6
3. Would not vote/do not know/other view	59.3
Croatia:	
1. A union of sovereign states	61
2. Yugoslavia as a modern federal state	8.3
3. Would not vote/do not know/other view	30.7
Bosnia-Hercegovina:	
1. A union of sovereign states	39.9
2. Yugoslavia as a modern federal state	34.1
3. Would not vote/do not know/other view	26
Serbia:	
1. A union of sovereign states	8.9
2. Yugoslavia as a modern federal state	78
3. Would not vote/do not know/other view	13.1
Montenegro:	
1. A union of sovereign states	12.2
2. Yugoslavia as a modern federal state	67.3
3. Would not vote/do not know/other view	20.5
Macedonia:	
1. A union of sovereign states	22.2
2. Yugoslavia as a modern federal state	62
3. Would not vote/do not know/other view	15.8

Republic Presidents Discuss Referendum

LD2904164291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Cetinje, April 29 (TANJUG)—A referendum on the country's future was "the sole topic of the morning round of the talks" of the presidents of Yugoslavia's six republics in Cetinje, capital of Montenegro, today, as Montenegro Information Minister Momcilo Stojanovic stated during the break in the talks.

Today's meeting of the six republican presidents are hosted by Montenegro President Momir Bulatovic.

Stojanovic said that it was felt that the presidents were making an effort to bring closer their stands on the referendum. One could not tell from Stojanovic's statement, however, whether the stands had been brought closer together or continued significantly to differ.

A referendum on the country's future order is to be held by the end of May.

The presidents of Yugoslavia's six republics are expected to hold a news conference this evening.

Assembly Adopts Changes to National Service Law

LD2604163791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly adopted changes to the Law on National Service at the end of its session today.

The changes were adopted by majority votes of the delegates present. According to these changes, the tasks of recruiting, which so far has been under the direction of republican, provincial, and municipal services are now being placed under the control of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army.

Reportage on Unrest in Kijevo, Surrounding Area

Knin Garrison Forces Surround Kijevo

LD2804161791 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Excerpt] All approaches to the Croat-populated village of Kijevo—where a few days ago the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Croatia established its police station—were blocked at about noon today by numerous military forces that arrived from the Knin garrison in armored carriers and tanks. Kijevo is now completely cut off. The military armored vehicles are stationed between Polaca, in the direction of Knin, and Vrlika, in the direction of Sinj. Only 100 meters away from a patrol unit of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Croatia—at one of the approaches to Vrlika from the direction of

Civljane, a stretch of road known as Lelasova Glavica—armored carriers are stationed, thus blocking traffic between Vrlika and Kijevo. The Ministry for Internal Affairs forces there in Vrlika have been visibly enforced.

This morning, the so-called martic [head of Knin police] police arrived in Kijevo in five police vehicles. They arrived in the center of the village, outside a building that, they assumed, housed the Croatian policemen of the Kijevo police station. There was no one in the building because the policemen of the Ministry for Internal Affairs are at a different location, in a Kijevo building on the other side of the village. The Martic police then left for Civljani. [passage omitted]

Mesic Comments on Militia's 'Incursion'

LD2804165791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1619 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] Split, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—In reaction to an incursion today by Knin militiamen into the village of Kijevo, where the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry set up a police station several days ago, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic issued a statement in Split upon his return from the nearby island of Brac:

"Despite great tension in Kijevo, and the stubborn refusal by some to understand that Knin is not Serbia, in the same way that Nis is not and never will be Croatia, you can inform the public that they have my assurances that everything will be fine, and that no one will come to any harm"—Mesic said.

Shots Fired in Vrlika, Cviljani Region

LD2804174691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Blaz Peric report from Vrlika]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the area between Vrlika and Cviljani, where soldiers blocked the road with armored carriers, and stopped traffic moving in the direction of Cviljani and Kijevo, sporadic gunshots can be heard. It is impossible, however, to determine whether these shots are being fired by soldiers, by civilians, or by Martic's guards of the self-proclaimed Independent Autonomous Region of Krajina. The soldiers manning this roadblock have confiscated Croatian television's equipment, and said that no recording could be made. No movement is allowed along this road, by order of the SFRY Presidency.

In Vrlika itself, the situation is extremely tense. A large number of policemen and civilians are in the streets. At 1330 the soldiers issued an ultimatum to policemen in Kijevo's police station, demanding their withdrawal. Children and women surrounded the soldiers, so the soldiers can only repeat their ultimatum that they will shoot at the policemen unless they withdraw, every 15 minutes.

Knin Defense Council Requests Army Help

LD2804175991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—The formation of a police station of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) of Croatia, in the area of the local community of Kijevo (Croatian populated village within Krajina) has provoked disquiet and anger throughout the municipality of Knin—especially among the population of Cetina, Civljane, and Polaca—and is threatening to grow into uncontrolled conflicts, says the statement from today's session of the Council for National Defense of the Knin Municipal Assembly.

It was concluded at the session that, following the decision of the Executive Council of the Knin Municipal Assembly to form a department of the Knin police station in Kijevo, there are no reasons whatsoever for the MUP of Croatia to maintain a police station in the area of the Knin municipality because it does not have the authority to do this.

The Council for National Defense, sending the conclusions from today's session to the Supreme Command Headquarters in Belgrade, the MUP of Croatia, the MUP of Serbia, and the Knin police station, requests from the appropriate commands of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] that they prevent the provocative work of the police station of the MUP of Croatia in Kijevo.

The Council for National Defense also requests of the Knin police station that it establish public order and peace in the area of the local communities of Polaca, Cetina, Civljane, and Kijevo in the shortest possible time.

Situation in Knin, Obrovac, Benkovac 'Tense'

AU2804184691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Snezana Stamatovic-Pokrajac report from Knin]

[Text] Although there has been unrest in Knin and Krajina during the last two days due to the formation of the police station of the constabulary forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs in the village of Kijevo near Knin, it seemed that Sunday will pass in peace. However, when a column of tanks of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] with fully equipped soldiers and officers passed through Knin, it caused a new feeling of uneasiness, but also a conviction that the Army will prevent any possible conflict in the inflammable region of Kijevo and the neighboring Serb-populated villages of Civljane and Cetina, where a special JNA unit has been stationed since yesterday. We have learned unofficially that this column of JNA tanks has in fact left for the Kijevo region.

In the meantime, the Knin Communal Assembly Council for National Defense also met today and issued an announcement concluding that there are no reasons

for the Croatian Internal Ministry to have a single police station in the region of the Knin Commune because it has not been authorized to do so, and its establishment threatens to cause uncontrolled conflicts. It is pointed out that the JNA has been authorized by the decision of the SFRY Presidency to prevent any interethnic conflicts, so it is demanded of the [word indistinct] JNA commands to prevent the provocative activity of the Croatian Internal Ministry in the Knin Commune. It is demanded of the Knin Secretariat for Internal Affairs that it establish public peace and order in the region as soon as possible. The announcement has been sent to the Staff of the Naval District Command, as well as the internal ministries of Croatia and Serbia.

We have learned that the situation in Obrovac region has also been extremely tense since a Croatian militia station was also formed in the village of Krusevo. Reports on a large number of JNA members in the Benkovac Region, because political-security situation has become aggravated there as well, have also been received in Knin.

Army Vehicles Block Road

LD2804185491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] Vrlika (Knin), 28 Apr (TANJUG)—Army personnel carriers have completely blocked the traffic on the road between the two neighboring villages of Vrlika, in Sinj municipality, and Civljani, in Knin municipality.

A TANJUG reporter, together with a large number of other journalists who arrived from the direction of Split, were forced to end their journey in the Vrlika-Civljani border strip. We have learned that in Vrlika, in the village of Kijevo, 10 km from Vrlika, policemen at the post recently set up by the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry are still refusing to comply with an ultimatum to withdraw.

The atmospehre in the streets of Vrlika is extremely tense. A large number of policemen and civilians are in a state of expectation. The army is not allowing journalists to move around. A Croatian television crew had its equipment taken away, with the warning that no filming is allowed.

Another TANJUG reporter based in Knin this evening obtained a number of facts that cast doubt on the authenticity of a report on Croatian radio this afternoon that Knin-based militiamen have entered Vrlika. Nikola Amanovic, duty officer at Knin militia station, said categorically: "No Krajina internal affairs secretariat officer has set foot in Kijevo."

Mesic Cites Jovic on Events

LD2804200391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1831 GMT 28 Apr 91

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—We believe that common sense will prevail, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic stated this evening to Croatian television in connection with the events in the Knin region.

Mesic said: "Everyone knows that the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs organized police administrations in places where there had been no police stations. This is because threats and ill-treatment against citizens and attacks by terrorists are constant, and these people could not tolerate it. This obviously did not suit the self-styled officials in Knin, and they tried with their own armed groups to intervene, and request that these stations be closed down."

Mesic said: "The day before yesterday President Borisav Jovic called me and said this should be done as soon as possible (withdraw the police stations, or rather administrations) or the Army would intervene. Now the question arises here as to whom the Army is protecting, because the Army cannot be a cordon sanitaire between the two sides. The two sides do not exist; The legal authorities in Croatia exist, and these self-styled officials, whom Croatia has been tolerating to prevent the use of force, exist. Now the Army must make a clear-cut statement as to what in fact it wants.

I am going to a session of the Presidency today. Probably representatives of the Army will also be invited, and we will see what they want. If Croatia is paying for the Army, then this is also a Croatian army, and in this case it must protect the legal set-up," Mesic concluded.

Kijevo Police Withdrawal Denied

LD2804203991 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] We have learned that this evening some television stations in the country issued a false report that police units of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry had withdrawn from the newly formed police station in Kijevo. The report apparently appeared first on TANJUG, based on an unconfirmed announcement by the Split Naval District and without prior contact with the Internal Affairs Ministry for confirmation.

Kijevo Situation Update

LD2804224291 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] We are again faced with dramatic events of vital importance for our Croatian homeland. This was stressed, inter alia, by Pasko Bubalo, presdient of the Sibenik Municipal Assembly this evening.

At a protest meeting in Drnis it was decided that Drnis children would not attend classes until the Army units were withdrawn. Tonight the people of Drnis will leave their lights on to prepare to defend themselves against military aggression.

Tanks and military vehicles rumbled along the roads in the Drnis area all afternoon, with military aircraft flying overhead.

According to reports from the neighboring Skradin area, life there is at a standstill, while military vehicles are on constant patrol.

The all-party Defense and Command Council of the Zadar Municipal Assembly is in permanent session to monitor the situation in the Zadar region. If called upon by the Croatian leadership, it is ready to do everything necessary to defend the sovereignty of our homeland. The leadership of the Zadar Municipal Assembly called on citizens to remain calm and to listen to Croatian radio and television, which will inform them about the latest developments.

Women, Children Guard Police Station

LD2904002591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0001 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] The police station of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry in Kijevo is being guarded by about 200 women and children sitting around fires. According to Ivan Baja, who telephoned us from the Kijevo post office, tanks and armored vehicles of the Yugoslav People's Army are positioned only about 100 meters from the police station. No clashes have been recorded so far.

Situation Calm After Shooting

LD2904165891 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Dragica Lemec report from Vrlika]

[Text] Following yesterday's deployment of Yugoslav People's Army units, tanks, and armored vehicles and the blockade of the village of Kijevo, the situation in the area has not changed and appears to be calm after frequent and sporadic shooting at about 0300 this morning when the village of Kijevo came under fire from all directions and all types of weapon. The firing continued until 0600. There is no evidence of either army movements or clashes. The army units are turning back everyone who tries to get into Kijevo from Vrlika. Only a medical team, however, was allowed to enter Kijevo today.

Serbs Demand Police Withdraw From Kijevo

LD2704085891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1940 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, Yugoslavia, April 26 (TANJUG)—The internal secretariat of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today demanded that Croatian Interior Ministry units pull out of the village of Kijevo.

Krajina police and the Knin Municipal Assembly issued a joint statement setting a deadline by 12 noon local time today for the withdrawal of Croatian police from the new police station (?in) Kijevo.

"The organizers of the police outpost will bear the consequences of the failure to comply with the demand," the statement says.

No incidents have been reported.

Kijevo has a majority Croatian population. The village is situated in the vicinity of Knin, the center of the predominantly Serb population of the autonomous region of Krajina, which Croatian authorities have refused to recognize.

The statement also says that the Croatian Interior Ministry "continues to stoke passions in the united communes of Krajina, in villages with predominantly Croatian population, in order to impress it upon the domestic and international public that a repressive action of the police is both necessary and justified in order to quieten the Serbs in their ethnic territory."

Krajina police offers to the people of Kijevo of talks to clear up [word indistinct] disputes, and says that it cannot permit the setting up of police outposts in Croat-populated villages in its territory.

Slovenian Leadership Faces Problems on Secession

LD2604181491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Radmila Gabric report]

[Text] Ljubljana, April 26 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian leadership, which received popular support for Slovenia's independence at the December plebiscite, is now facing difficulties in realizing this idea in the given time.

The results of the plebiscite are binding on the Slovenian government to submit to the republican parliament a programme for realizing independence by the end of June, but this was again not done at this week's parliamentary session.

Instead of presenting a programme to parliament, the government representatives told the deputies that work on the realization of economic independence was difficult and extensive.

The opposition is increasingly voicing warnings that Slovenia, the most developed of the six Yugoslav republics, will have to pay an extremely high price in terms of isolation, loss of the Yugoslav market and a fall in the standards of living.

The parliament accepted the government's explanation and its President Franc Bucar simply did not give the radicals—whose insistence on an urgent secession has

become inevitable in every parliamentary debate—an opportunity to speak, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes today.

The international public's support to the unity of Yugoslavia partly accounts for the halt in Slovenia's progress towards urgent independence, which is also in this republic being increasingly referred to as secession.

On their frequent visits to European countries over the past few months, Slovenian politicians were told by their hosts that they would like to see Yugoslavia preserved within its existing borders.

In this context the foreign collocutors noted that internal relations are an internal affair of Yugoslavia and that this question should be settled in a democratic and peaceful way.

Differences in the government are also hindering preparations for independence.

Minister of Information Stane Stanic has been removed from the cabinet of Premier Lojze Peterle. Deputy Premier in charge of Economy Joze Mencinger has submitted his irrevocable resignation, and it is rumoured that Finance Minister Marko Kranjec may also resign.

The Belgrade baily BORBA on Friday writes that Peterle may also "thank Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel for his cooperation."

The reason for the Peterle-Rupel dispute "seems to be the Slovenian Foreign Ministry's insufficient efforts in promoting Slovenia's interests abroad, i.e. its intention to secede from Yugoslavia," says BORBA.

Slovenia's Mencinger on Reasons for Resignation

AU2604114291 Vienna AZ in German 26 Apr 91 p 6

[Interview with former Slovene Prime Minister Joze Mencinger by Margaretha Kopeinig in Vienna; date not given: "Against Shock Therapy"]

[Text] Joze Mencinger (50), who resigned a few days ago as Slovene prime minister, attended a symposium in Vienna yesterday, organized by the "Schumpeter Society" on the topic "The way out of slavery; From the planned to the market economy." In an interview with AZ, the economics expert commented on his resignation and the crisis in Slovenia.

[Kopeinig] What were the reasons for your resignation?

[Mencinger] I was against the planned law on the reprivatization of the economy. I was against the direct transformation of state property into private property and proposed a three-stage transition to the government. The first stage should include the decentralization of enterprises, the second privatization under the control of a government agency, and the third participation by the workers.

[Kopeinig] What was not acceptable for you?

[Mencinger] Adaptation to Western ownership structures and the introduction of the market economy must be carried out in a way to ensure that more benefit results than damage. In addition, I advocate a slow secession from Yugoslavia—as opposed to the government of Lojze Peterle.

[Kopeinig] Are you in favor of slowing down independence efforts?

[Mencinger] I want to avoid an economic and social catastrophe. One-fifth of Slovene goods and services go to the five republics. I am in favor of establishing a customs and trade union with these republics. Agreement on Slovenia's share of debts and on further loans must be reached with the international financial institutions. We urgently need loans to build up our economy and to pay wages to our workers.

[Kopeinig] Your resignation triggered a crisis within the Ljubljana government. What will happen now?

[Mencinger] First of all, the social democratic Finance Minister Mario Kranjec will probably resign. The government has accepted the economic concept presented by Professor Jeffrey Sachs from Havard University. Earlier, Sachs had also drafted a concept for Ante Markovic. His proposal provides for the immediate privatization of over 200 enterprises. He is considered a representative of so-called shock therapy.

[Kopeinig] Will there be any changes in the timetable for independence?

[Mencinger] The government intends to stick to the date at the end of June. The international community of states is skeptical, mainly out of economic considerations.

[Kopeinig] Who is your successor, and what will you do in the future?

[Mencinger] My successor is Dr. Ocvirk, a manager from the Slovene "Petrol" oil company. I will continue my work as economics professor at Ljubljana University.

Peterle Denies Talking on Currency Issue

AU2604193591 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Interview on news conference by Slovene delegation with Barbara Krazmar following return from France at the Slovene Executive Council building on 26 April—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] Esteemed listeners, a Slovene government delegation led by Lojze Peterle, president of the republican executive council, returned from France about half an hour ago. Shortly after that, the delegation held a news conference in the Executive Council building at which the Republican Prime Minister was talking, that is to

say, he is still talking about the results of his visit to Paris. Our correspondent Barbara Kramzar is also following the conference and she is with us on the telephone right now. Can you hear me Barbara?

[Kramzar] Yes, I can hear you perfectly. The news conference by the Slovene president is still in progress. However, he has already answered some of the most interesting questions.

The best answer by Peterle was of course his response to the TANJUG report announcing to the world and to our country that on 1 May Slovenia will supposedly introduce the Slovene currency and Slovene passports. Peterle said that he stated nothing in connection with this and that no one in Paris asked him anything about it. Therefore, the TANJUG report was probably not true.

Otherwise, Lojze Peterle spoke about the Paris visit itself. [passage omitted]

Opposition Parties Criticize Slovene Government

LD2504225191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Ljubljana, April 25 (TANJUG)—Opposition deputies in the Slovenian parliament, but also some from the republic's ruling Demos coalition, today criticized in the republican parliament's Socio-political Chamber some aspects of the government of Christian Democratic Prime Minister Lojze Peterle.

The reformed communists in Slovenia's tricameral parliament, who hold most of its 250 seats, said in the interpellation that the government's view budget would stifle the economy and boost enemployment, and that by earmarking an enormous part of the republican budget for the military and police the government was totally neglecting problems which might arise when health, education, culture and other sectors were starved of funds.

The reformed communists, now calling themselves the Party of Democratic Change, said their point was proved by the recent resignations of Slovenia's deputy prime minister, respected economist Dr Joze Mencinger, and president of the republic's Chamber of Economy Tomaz [word indistinct].

The government also faced criticism over its foreign-policy orientation—the socialist party's best known figure, respected Slovenian and Yugoslav politician Joze Smole, warned about the danger of the Slovenian economy being sold off to foreigners. Smole said the frequent visits to Vienna of what he said was a "series of ministers" created an impression in the public of a pro-Austrian bent in the current republican establishment.

Deputies of Demos, the six-party ruling coalition, confined themselves to criticizing the government for neglecting social issues.

The parliamentary debate on the Slovenian government's economic and development policies will continue.

Slovenia To Introduce Parallel Currency

AU2604160891 Paris AFP in English 1456 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (AFP)—Yugoslavia's northwestern republic of Slovenia will introduce a separate currency, the secu, on Wednesday to be used by Slovenian companies and banks, the Slovenian newspaper DELO reported Friday.

The use of the secu which would replace the national currency, the dinar, is optional but its introduction will be the first step on the path to a Slovenian currency, the lipa, which is to be tied to the European monetary unit, the ecu, according to the paper.

Slovenians overwhelmingly voted for national independence in a referendum last December and leaders have said that independence will be effective by the end of June.

New Slovene Minister of Information Appointed

LD2604163291 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Summary] The Slovene Assembly adopted the changes and amendments to the Law on Internal Affairs at its session today. The Assembly also relieved Information Minister Stane Stanic of his duty. Jerko Kacin was appointed by a secret vote to this post and Peter Jambrek was appointed president of the Constitutional Court of Slovenia.

Serbian Assembly Increases Excise Taxes

LD2604224291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly today approved this year's republican budget of 30.3 billion dinars. It also approved a law adding two dinars to a liter of gasoline and diesel (gasoline recently went up about 35 percent to 13.5 dinars a liter), a packet of cigarettes, and a liter of wine. One dinar is to be added to the price of a liter of beer and five dinars to a liter of liquor. Agricultural organizations and the military will be exempt from these supplements, which will be levied beginning 1 May. It is estimated that these measures will bring in 4.1 billion dinars this year.

"It was pointed out in the debate that the introduction of these duties will contribute to the destruction of the unified Yugoslav market, the confederalization of Yugoslavia, the acceleration of inflation, and the unequal position of the citizens of Serbia in Yugoslavia."

Threat To Destroy Tito's Grave Withdrawn

LD2904151591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG) Dr. Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], stated at a news conference today that the SRS will not destroy Tito's mausoleum on 4 May, but instead at 1200 hours will organize peaceful demonstrations in Belgrade to demand that Tito's grave be removed. The SRS will also hold a demonstration in front of the Federal Assembly on 15 May against Stjepan Mesic becoming president of the SFRY Presidency.

Bosnia-Hercegovina PDA Opposes Alliance

LD2804160191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1451 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] Sarajevo, April 28 (TANJUG)—The Party of Democratic Action (PDA) which rallies the majority Muslim population of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today assessed the decision on the forming of a new Alliance of Communes in the western part of this republic as "an instance of the ignoring of the top organs of democratic authority in the republic, which cannot be allowed".

Communes populated with a Serb majority in the western part of this republic formed a new Alliance of Communes a few days ago.

In today's statement, the PDA, which is the strongest party in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly underscores that the Alliance of Communes was formed without previous consultations with the republican government and despite the legislature's recommendations that this should not be done.

The PDA also assessses that the adoption of the decision to form the alliance, "completely negates and denies the rights of Muslim and other nations living in that territory."

The leading daily in the republic, OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo, today assesses that there has also been a rift in the republican government over this, and that Serb ministers have refused to accept the recommendations to the communes not to form the new alliance.

"Anything can come out of the new regionalization in Bosnia-Hercegovina," OSLOBODJENJE maintains, "even difficult trials for the republic, which is the historical heritage of and common homeland to all the nations living in it."

Bosnia-Hercegovina is a multi-ethnic republic. About 40 percent of the population are Muslims, 35 percent Serbs, and 17 percent Croats.

Bosnian Official Outlines Economic Program

AU2504194591 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 91 p 1

[Unattributed report on "highlights" of the speech by Bosnia-Hercegovina prime minister, Jure Pelivan, on the republic's development program, at the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, held in Sarajevo on 11 April: "Expansion By Fall"]

Assessment of the Situation

The economic situation in the republic is critical and at the same time generates numerous problems in the functioning of the business sector and social activities. Losses in the business sector and social activities in Bosnia-Hercegovina amounted to 10.5 billion dinars at the end of 1990; pensions and disabled persons insurance recorded a loss of 3.5 billion dinars; debts owed by legal entities amounted to 11.2 billion dinars at the end of March this year; the foreign debt amounted to $2 billion; 288,000 people are unemployed; 500,000 people receive some kind of welfare support.

Debt Recovery

We have managed to collect in cash all the monies from the federation for 1990 worth approximately 1.6 billion dinars. This made it possible to meet all the economy's requirements regarding export incentives, foreign exchange rate differences, and other demands for last year.

The Primary Issue

Bosnia-Hercegovina's use of funds from the primary issue increased from 4.3 percent, at the end of last year, to 10.2 percent. On this basis, we will be able to take out more loans via our banks amounting to around 2 billion dinars.

The Reform Concept

The republic's development program also rests to a certain extent on the reform program of the Federal Executive Council and it essentially has the traits of a stabilization-development program, but it flexibly applies the macroeconomic policy, which provides greater support for production and exports to be evaluated on the market.

Privatization

The Government's general stand is that socially-owned property should be transformed into private property. The Government supports the possibility of selling an entire enterprise to domestic or foreign persons, but on the basis of an assessment of its market value.

Kostic Elected Montenegro's Member of Presidency

LD2304202791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Titograd, 23 Apr (TANJUG)—The new member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro is Branko Kostic.

He was elected today by secret ballot at a session of the republican parliament when the majority of deputies voted for Kostic among four other candidates for this post.

New Kosovo Coordination Council Leader Appointed

LD2504185391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0946 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Summary] Pristina, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—The Serbian government today appointed Milos Simovic, the province's secretary of finance, to head the coordinating body of Kosovo and Metchija. He replaces Momcilo Trajkovic. The coordinating body was set up following a decision to abolish the Kosovo Assembly Executive Council. It comprises heads of the provincial secretariats and committees, and its main role is to coordinate the work of the provincial services in the transitional period and during the introduction of new authorities in Kosovo and Metchija.

Thousands of Albanians Set To Cross Border

LD2704181691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1654 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Pristina, April 27 (TANJUG)—The Serbian-language daily JEDINSTVO published in Pristina, the capital of Serbia's southern Province of Kosovo, reports today that "between 30,000 and 50,000 Albanians are preparing to cross the Yugoslav-Albanian border during the May Day holidays".

Quoting "intelligence sources", the paper says that preparations for the crossing are under way and that they are no secret.

Albanian authorities have informed the Yugoslav border authorities about the plan and said that they "cannot prevent it".

JEDINSTVO recalls that leader of Kosovo ethnic Albanians Ibrahim Rugova recently described the Yugoslav-Albanian border "as a Berlin Wall which will one day fall too".

Commenting on the announced mass crossing of Albanians into Yugoslavia, the Albanian-language daily ZERRI I RINIS says that "the scenario has been prepared in advance".

About 90 percent of Kosovo's population are ethnic Albanians, who want to become independent from Serbia.

The territory of present-day Kosovo was the centre of the Serbian medieval state.

World Bank, IMF Support Economic Measures

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[Text] Washington, April 29 (TANJUG)—The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank support the Yugoslav Government's programme for implementing economic reforms in 1991, show talks held separately between Deputy Federal Finance Secretary Slavoljub Stanic and Vice-Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Zarko Trbojevic, and World Bank Vice-President William Wapenhans and IMF Deputy General Director Richard Erb.

The Yugoslav delegation is currently on a visit to Washington to attend regular semi-annual sessions of the highest IMF and World Bank bodies.

As learned, Wapenhans expressed the World Bank's expectations that the Yugoslav republics and provinces would support the Yugoslav Government's latest measures, which would, according to estimates voiced here, create conditions for using the second tranche of the structural adjustment loan (SAL-2), valued at 250 million dollars.

The republics' internal agreement and support to the federal government programme would also contribute to speeding up preparations for concluding the so-called financial SAL, a 500- million-dollar loan for restructuring Yugoslavia's financial system.

The talks pointed out that the World Bank is prepared to speed up the concluding of the so-called project loans, for example for the thermo-electric power plant Kolubara, to the value of 300 million dollars.

It has also been announced that preparations for signing the third, 262-million-dollar loan for roads, would be stepped up.

Agreement was reached that Wapenhans visit Yugoslavia in the second half of May.

Erb also supported the economic programme of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

It is essential that the federal government and the republics agree about the federal budget, the National Bank's independence in implementing the monetary policy and the curbing of the growth of public and private expenditure in Yugoslavia, it was heard at the meeting.

Erb expressed hope that the draft federal budget would be adopted by the republics and provinces and said that an IMF mission would come to Yugoslavia after that to conclude a new stand-by arrangement.